Leon McKinney questions Greg Craig's Conflict of Interest

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Recalling Phillip Abbott Luce
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2000-2001 State Budget Fight

P.O.R.C.*

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Republicans win two battles
One with themselves;
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by Ray Haynes

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Ray Haynes — by Bruce Herschensohn
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"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

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CORRESPONDENCE

Pigs at the Trough

Ray Haynes' "Pigs at the Trough" (*CPR,* May/June) makes me wonder what the (legal) reasoning is behind holding the budget surplus hostage to the governor's and Legislature's whims instead of refunding it to taxpayers? Since the Legislature would not hesitate a minute in bad revenue years in asking for additional dollars, refunding the surplus should be a non-negotiable budget dictate. Could an intiative effectively correct this oversight? Or am I being simplistic? Imagine the popularity of a proposition saying nothing more than "any tax receipts that exceed current expenses are to be returned to the taxpayers within XX days". I have a feeling it would be a slam dunk.

On another issue, John Kurzweil's "The Evil Party" mentioned Al Gore, at a recent Democrat fund raiser, calling for "mandatory child safety trigger locks" after telling about a gang shootout at the Washington, D.C., Zoo. You point out that child trigger locks for street gangs is ridiculous but let me add that guns are illegal in Washington, D.C.! If Congress can add safety requirements to banned weapons, substances, etc., it could enact a whole array of new laws: filters on crack pipes, registration of stolen merchandise, taxes on counterfeit money. The mind boggles at the possibilities. Of course it can all be done with the best of intentions and with the children in mind. Call a press conference, let the legislating begin!

Ron Johnson
Oakland

Gray Davis & The Hypocrites

I loved Mark Pulliam's article, "My Way or the Highway" (*CPR,* May/June). [California Governor Gray] Davis is unintentionally exposing liberal hypocrites and political suck-ups who continually fret about "assaults on the independence of the judiciary" except when it comes from their side of the political spectrum.

George M. Kraw
San Jose

Consumers Union, Please

Regarding William R. Allen's "Labor Unions: Rights, Free Riders, and Public Employees" (*CPR,* May/June): It should not be legal to unionize any monopoly. But, as Professor Allen pointed out, government unions are a growth industry — for good reason. They are a win/win situation. "Management" has nothing to lose and much to gain. The less "work" union "workers" do, the more "workers" that must be hired to do the "work." And the more "workers" are paid (and the more "workers" there are to pay) the more the "bosses" can demand for themselves. When I last checked many years ago, the unions that spent the most to influence Congress were the postal unions in monopoly number one.

Unions and management bargain before and after a strike, but the discussion excludes customers, who, with any new contract, must pay more for goods and services. We need a customers union that would boycott with the dedication of union members honoring picket lines: Unions demand shorter hours, higher pay, and longer fringes. Management eventually (it's against the law to give in too quickly) signs a labor contract. The rank and file "reluctantly" concur. Then, the customers say: We refuse to buy. When the first firm goes bankrupt, the world will see the light at the end of the long, dark tunnel.

Robert Hawkins
Santa Barbara

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Having always agreed more with Dorothy Parker ("If you can't say something nice about somebody come sit right here next to me") than the Roman statesman Cicero ("Let nothing but good be said about the dead"), I offer these brief observations on the Quackenbush affair.

It was a perfect combination of greed, stupidity, and arrogance. The Quackster, as a quintessential moderate Republican, believed in nothing more than his own aggrandizement, leaving no core values to scream "stop" as he embarked on his ultimately self-destructive course. But an *un*covered part of the story is the role of Quack's political advisors, the old Pete Wilson team of geniuses, with their triple-starched shirts, paisely suspenders, tassle loafers, and their own lethal mix of greed and arrogance. Word in the martini havens serving as heat relief for your *Spectator* is that these worthies — who wear their "political wizard" labels in neon — sold to Quack the plan that was ultimately his undoing.

And the topic of greed mixed with arrogance segues nicely into the California business community's latest effort to raise your property taxes. They failed with Proposition 26, which would have reduced from 66 to 50 percent the vote needed to pass local school bonds, which are paid solely by property taxes, and are back again with "son of 26," which reduces the vote necessary from 50 to 55 percent.

At the same time, business is also supporting a ballot initiative (known as the Sinclair Paint initiative for its court-case moniker) that would increase from 50 to 66 percent the vote needed to raise fees and taxes on businesses. Hence the position of the corporate socialists at the business roundtable, chamber of commerce, *et. al.*, is that the electoral bar to raise taxes on *them* should be 66 percent, but to raise taxes on *you* should be 55 percent.

These businesses have stooped and scraped for Gray Davis all year. In return, Davis has blocked some of this year's worst anti-business bills. But he has also shown more than once that if the choice is between business and labor, his heart will always belong to the unions. And our captains of industry show no evidence of having considered what happens once their allies have been fed to the alligator and they alone remain to be eaten.

Instead, these businesses have discovered in the Assembly a band of "moderate Democrats," using this find — about as real as the latest Elvis sighting — to "balance" their largess between the parties, drastically curtailing contributions to Republicans. With labor money going 95 percent to Democrats and business suddenly doing a 50/50 split, the result is predictable.

So, the business community having apparently adopted a liberal elitest view of conservatives — yahoos unwelcome in their clubs — the time is now to join Democrats in a populist crusade for a "split roll" property tax system. That would cut the average homeowner's property tax up to 75 percent, while perhaps doubling the tax on Wells Fargo, Intel, and the rest. Twice this year they have betrayed homeowners and the once-potent anti-tax coalition they formed with them in the past. It would only be right to answer them, in spades, in the new language they have adopted for themselves.

— *A. P. C.*

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It's Often Lonely, Being Right

And, for the U.S. Supreme Court, it's never easy, either. If Al Gore wins in November, it will be impossible.

MARK S. PULLIAM

THE WORLD we live in gets stranger by the day. Janet Reno's storm troopers were temporarily diverted from gun control duties (Ruby Ridge) to handling child custody disputes (Elian Gonzalez). Gun-hating, anti-military liberals normally opposed to parental rights cooed with approval at the SWAT team's use of brute force to seize a child from his anti-Castro relatives. (What's next from Janet Reno? Will the storm troopers be called out for overdue library books, or for failing to fill out the Census forms?) The nation's librarians, formerly a matronly lot, are committed to unrestricted access to pornographic web sites on the Internet, even for children, using taxpayer-funded computers. But prayer in the public schools is off-limits and the Ten Commandments can't be displayed. The Boy Scouts of America (BSA) is under attack for opposing homosexual role models. Thanks to Bill Lockyer, California was among the 11 states opposing the BSA's freedom of association in the U.S. Supreme Court. Harvard Law School is teaching "animal rights," even as the ACLU defends infanticide (partial birth abortions) before the U.S. Supreme Court. If the left had its way, dolphins and redwoods would have more legal protection than humans. The Clinton Administration is persecuting Microsoft for being too successful, even as it defends racial quotas, gender preferences, and affirmative action.

Amid this chaos and confusion, it is often difficult to maintain one's bearings. One wearies of the constant struggle. Even good people make mistakes. These frailties are understandable, and usually pardonable, but they highlight the wisdom, courage, and conviction of the hardy few who withstand the onslaught of political correctness and defiantly raise their rhetorical fists in lonely dissent. Two notable examples of public figures fitting this description are Clarence Thomas, associate justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, and Janice Brown, associate justice on the California Supreme Court.

On May 22, Justice Thomas was the lone dissenter to the Court's denial of *certiorari* (denial of review) to the California Supreme Court's decision in *Avis Rent A Car System, Inc. v. Aguilar* (previously discussed in this column — see "Slouching Toward the Middle," *CPR*, Nov/Dec 1999). Readers may recall that *Aguilar* was a 4-3 decision authored by Chief Justice Ron George upholding an injunction against derogatory remarks in the workplace directed at Hispanic/Latino employees, despite the heavy constitutional presumption against "prior restraints" of speech. (Justice Brown was among the dissenters to George's plurality opinion.)

JUSTICE THOMAS disagreed with the California Supreme Court's ruling, and publicly chided his colleagues for declining to grant review: "I would grant *certiorari* to address the troubling First Amendment issues raised by this injunction. Attaching liability to the utterance of words in the workplace is likely invalid for the simple reason that this speech is fully protected speech.... But even assuming that some pure speech ... may be proscribed ... when it violates a workplace harassment law, special First Amendment problems are presented when, as here, the proscription takes the form of a prior restraint."

The danger of the *Aguilar* decision is illustrated by a recent bill (A.B. 2142) that passed the Assembly by a 41-30 vote and is now before the Senate. A.B. 2142, sponsored by Democrat Fred Keeley, would amend

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Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

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THE FRONT LINE

The 66th A.D.: A liberal GOP millionaire, three conservative candidates, and the Open Primary. But the good guys won anyway. Here's how.

The 66th Assembly district presented an interesting challenge in the March primary. Voters elected Sen. Ray Haynes to that seat in 1992 and Assemblyman Bruce Thompson in 1994 when Haynes moved to the Senate. Could it send another conservative to the Legislature?

The challenges: first, a multimillionaire liberal, Jeff Bennett, wanted the seat, and was prepared to spend his millions to win it. Bennett, in conversations with local Republicans, told them he believed the Republican Party ought to abandon its prolife positions, ought to support gun control, ought to support the "gay rights" agenda, and was too doctrinaire on tax cuts. What is left? Evidently nothing, because local Democrats were willing to help Bennett win.

Next, three conservatives also wanted the seat and, to beat Bennett, conservatives had to unite behind one candidate. Each of the three conservatives thought he was the best candidate, and none were willing to drop out. All actively cultivated local conservative officeholders and activists for support. The split vote danger was high.

Finally, the open primary gave Democrats the opportunity to interfere in the GOP primary of this overwhelmingly Republican seat. Democrats knew they would never win the seat in a general election, so they were willing to settle for the next best thing, a sympathetic Republican. Bennett was that Republican.

But, because everything went right in this district, a conservative won. To take the last challenge first, experience indicated that a challenge in the Democrat primary stopped open primary crossover voting. So local Republicans recruited a prolife, pro-gun Democrat. It worked. Inside sources told us one of the Democrats had planned to withdraw and endorse Bennett in the last week of the campaign, but did *not* withdraw because of the primary challenge.

Next, conservatives were able to unite behind Dennis Hollingsworth in the last two months of the campaign. The other conservatives were given a fair shot to prove their ability to raise money and volunteers. When they didn't perform, conservative activists and officeholders made their choice, and everyone, including the other conservative candidates, united behind Hollingsworth.

Bennett spent his millions. Hollingsworth was able to raise about $300,000. It was a brutal campaign. Bennett, who had pled no contest to embezzlement in the early 1980s, threatened to sue anyone who made reference to that criminal conviction. Labor called Democrats for Bennett. Republican conservative activists hit the streets for Hollingsworth. It was enough. Hollingsworth won by ten points on Election Day.

An interesting side note: the Democrat strategy for crossovers backfired. Not only did Hollingsworth win, but the prolife, pro-gun Democrat *also* won. It was a great victory for conservatives, and a recipe for future victories *if* the open primary law someday returns. CPR

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the state's Fair Employment and Housing Act to ban discrimination against a person's "perceived gender." Sex and "sexual orientation" are already covered. The bill's purpose is to prohibit discrimination by employers and landlords against transvestites, cross-dressers, and "transsexuals." No exception is made for schoolteachers. Hence, if A.B. 2142 passes the Legislature (and it may, since Assembly Democrats supported it on a party-line vote) and is signed into law, drag queens will have a legal right to teach in the public schools, employers will be forced to hire female impersonators, and the public display of aberrant homosexual behavior will be even more firmly enshrined as a civil right. (I write on Memorial Day, sad to think of the brave men who fought and died to preserve a way of life rapidly being subverted from within.)

Under the rationale of our "harassment" laws and the *Aguilar* decision, landlords, employers, coworkers, and, in the public school context, students and parents, could be held liable for statements critical of the "perceived gender" of a protected applicant, employee, or tenant. Worse, courts could issue injunctions forbidding the expression of disapproval toward transvestites, drag queens, and similar deviants. Reading *this* column at work, or expressing opinions like mine in public, could be actionable. The civil rights laws in California are being hijacked by a vocal and influential minority to stifle the objections of the dominant culture to a lifestyle (if it can be dignified as such) that most decent people regard as perverse.

THE LEFT seeks to exert coercive power over those with whom they disagree, by silencing their critics (*e.g.,* trying to force Dr. Laura Schlessinger off television, Larry Elder off talk radio, and John Rocker out of major league baseball). Giving militant homosexuals and "transsexuals" the power to punish mere disagreement in the guise of anti-harassment and nondiscrimination laws is a disturbing step in the direc-

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Does this sound familiar? *Everyone* in California believes we need *more* gun control laws to "save the children." That's the media's consistent message, and the endlessly-repeated *mantra* of the Democrat politicians who seem to be the only people the media can find to quote on this issue.

Well, suppose we try a radical idea: let's look at the facts!

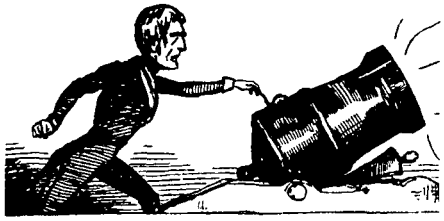
Soon after the so-called Million Mom (more like 100,000, substantiated by aerial survey, but who's counting? certainly not the press) Mother's Day March, Public Opinion Strategies asked California voters whether they favor stricter enforcement of gun laws or believe we need *new* gun laws. The results were no surprise to those of us involved in the fight to protect the Second Amendment, but then we don't share liberals' aversion to reality.

Almost every demographic group favors stricter enforcement of existing gun laws over new gun laws — women, men, working women, homemakers, white males — all say the same thing by significant margins. Even the pollsters' category "All Non-Whites" split evenly on the question (48 to 48). Don't hope to find *that* politically incorrect datum in your local liberal newspaper, where every non-white American *strongly* favors new gun laws, whether they do or not.

Breaking the survey's respondents down by party, only Democrats, by 53 to 43 percent, favor new gun laws. Republican and Decline-to-State voters favor stricter enforcement over more gun control, 74 to 21 percent and 58 to 40 percent, respectively — that is, by landslide numbers, even among Independents.

So, even counting registered Democrats, 57 percent of California voters favor stricter enforcement; only 39 percent prefer new gun laws. Those are the facts.

But facts are just what liberals long ago banished from the Second Amendment debate, knowing they would ruin the fun. Don't bother me with facts, they say, just hand over my concealed weapon permit (those insane gunners and my courageous stand against them put me in danger!), and let me proceed on my happy, closed-minded way.



Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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LEGISLATIVE FILE

The budget: Ray Haynes (on page 12) discusses, in-depth, lower house Republicans' remarkable show of spine that blocked Democrat plans to eliminate this year's scheduled car tax cut. Unfortunately, nothing blocked another shameless and, at least for-the-moment, successful Democrat raid on taxpayers' wallets.

Brief background: A quarter-cent sales tax increase passed early last decade as an "emergency" measure to help state government "survive" a poor economy and resulting budget deficits. It is, of course, still in effect, though Sacramento is foundering in a record-breaking $13 billion-plus surplus. The tax hike, a Pete Wilson production, was sold to voters by guaranteeing its expiration as soon as the "temporary" tough times ended. Specifically, the levy would evaporate when state reserves equaled 4 percent or more of the general fund budget for one year and were projected to reach 4 percent for a second year.

At press time, this year's surplus-driven reserve was about 10 percent of general fund expenditures for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 2000. Frantic to continue the "emergency" tax hike into its second decade, the Legislature created a $2.052 billion "Special Reserve Fund for Vehicle License Fee Tax Relief." This special fund will not count as general fund reserve, so even with more than 4 percent in unspent revenue, the state will still collect the extra quarter cent sales tax. Capitol sources suggested a lawsuit might be filed charging the "Special Reserve" is merely a dodge to defeat the Legislature's clear intent that the quarter-cent tax hike would really be temporary. Stay tuned.

In a related budget spectacle tawdry even by Capitol standards, Gov. Davis insisted the state employ an elaborate procedure, costing an additional $22.2 million, for reducing California motorists' Vehicle License Fee. Instead of calculating car owners' fees at the new rate, the state will collect fees at the old rate, "refunding" the reduction later. Davis wants voters to see his name on the checks. The plan was too much even for the *Los Angeles Times* which called it "one Rube Goldberg might appreciate." Wasn't Quack brought down for using his office to divert money from public purposes to his own political benefit?

Contrasting with this Democrat venality, Orange County GOP Assemblyman Bill Campbell urged a state budget "no" vote because Democrats dismissed "without serious debate or consideration" GOP proposals to end taxpayer funding of partial birth abortions, of minors' abortions without parental notification, and of abortions unaccompanied by "full disclosure on the risks of this surgery before the abortion is performed." Campbell noted that "advocates of *'choice' offer those of us who are* prolife no choice with this budget." The roomful of liberal idealists no doubt yawned.

Education: The budget's whopping 24 percent increase in per-pupil spending should (though it will not) end the excuse for California's poor school system that it is "underfunded." The Legislature, satisfied with shoveling vast amounts of cash at the schools establishment, enacted no major education policy changes this year.

At this writing, the Legislature was considering a particularly tyrannical bill to use county health programs to quiz kids about their family life — any guns in the house? do your parents spank? — evidently so mental health bureaucrats could designate politically incorrect households "at risk." More on this next time. CPR

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tion of thought control. As Dennis Prager has pointed out, "[t]he totalitarian impulse in contemporary liberalism is nowhere more evident than in the speech codes that blanket the American workplace." How can this be happening in America?

IT WOULDN'T be happening if Clarence Thomas and Janice Brown were in the majority on the freedom of speech issue. On the U.S. Supreme Court, a fragile 5-4 balance exists, pursuant to which Justice Thomas is often (but not often enough) on the winning side. (Justice Brown is not as fortunate; she frequently dissents, a situation not likely to improve in the near future, with appointments to the court controlled by Governor Gray Davis.) The November election could tilt the Court's balance in favor of the liberal wing, putting Clarence Thomas and his conservative colleagues in the minority. The left knows this, and is using the judicial appointment issue to campaign against George W. Bush, who has identified Clarence Thomas and Antonin Scalia as the jurists he most respects. For example, the ultra-liberal so-called "People for the American Way" is busy smearing what it calls the "Scalia-Thomas Supreme Court," warning that "[a] shift of just two votes would transform the current 6-3 majority for reproductive rights [abortion] protected by *Roe v. Wade* into a 5-4 majority eliminating a woman's right to choose [*sic:* to allow the people to decide the issue, abortion, through their state and federal legislatures]." Left-wing groups would dearly like to maintain Democrat control of the White House, so Al Gore could put more liberal activists like Clinton-appointed Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer on the Court.

But the left's concern goes beyond merely preserving the status quo on *Roe v. Wade;* imperfect as it is, the current U.S. Supreme Court has made tremendous progress in recent terms limiting the scope of the federal government through narrow interpretations of the Commerce Clause, which in previous eras was thought to give Congress open-ended power to regulate. An unrestrained federal government represents the greatest threat to our freedoms (remember Janet Reno's storm troopers). Conversely, ever since the New Deal, expanding the power of the federal government has been the left's top priority. The Court's recent "federalism" jurisprudence (as well as conservative decisions in other areas, such as property rights and racial preferences) is a thorn in the left's side. As previously noted, all of these rulings rest on a slim 5-4 margin. A single appointment could tip the balance. Liberals desperately want Al Gore elected president so he can reverse the Supreme Court's direction.

A recent decision illustrates what is at stake. On May 15, a 5-4 vote of the Court ruled that Congress did not have the authority under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution to enact the 1994 Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), which allowed the victims of "gender-motivated violence" to sue their attackers in federal court. The VAWA is a species of the current fad — hate crime legislation — in which socially-conscious legislators confer upon favored victim groups additional rights and remedies beyond merely enforcing existing criminal laws. Some forms of violence are deemed more heinous than others, depending on the identity of the victim and the motive of the perpetrator. In *United States v. Morrison,* a college student accused two Virginia Tech football players of rape — a violation of state law — but invoked the VAWA to sue in federal court as a victim of "gender-motivated violence." The Supreme Court recognized that if the Commerce Clause was broad enough to provide civil remedies for crimes such as rape, federal law would swallow the states, a result it refused to permit: "[I]f Congress may regulate gender-motivated violence, it would be able to regulate murder or any other type of violence." Accordingly, the Court held that the VAWA was unconstitutional.

THE REACTION of the left to *U.S. v. Morrison* was swift and furious. The militantly-feminist National Organization for Women issued a press release quoting its president, Patricia Ireland, denouncing the decision: "The narrow margin in this decision must serve as a wake-up call as we head into the height of the campaign season. We must elect a president who values women's rights. And that means we must defeat George W. Bush." Ireland explained: "The next president will probably fill two or perhaps three vacancies on the U.S. Supreme Court during his term. I shudder when I remember that Bush named ultraconservatives Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas as the Supreme Court justices he most respects. With the justices now divided 5-4 against us on women's rights issues, the new president's nominations will set the direction of the Court for many years to come."

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President Bush could strengthen the tenuous 5-4 Supreme Court majority, ending the need for Clarence Thomas to write dissents. He could put Janice Brown on the winning side by appointing her to the U.S. Supreme Court where her considerable talents would be put to better use. Dissenting opinions, however laudable, are a poor substitute for winning. Being right is often lonely, but need not be that way.

THE MIDNIGHT ECONOMIST

Mouse Wisdom

Minimum and Market Wages, Employment, and Income

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

TWO FETCHING mice, Karl and Adam, live in my office. While good friends, they often debate questions about life, economics, and other important things. Recently, they discussed governmentally-specified minimum wages.

"I'm so ticked off, I'd like to flee," cried mouse Karl.

"Sorry to hear of your tick and flee problem," responded mouse Adam. "What is the cruel cause of your current crisis?"

"Poverty!" shouted Karl. "There is too much of it, and it could be so easily eliminated! But callous fat-cat members of the community don't care!"

"There *is* poverty," said Adam soberly, "even in this land of relative milk and honey. But I had not supposed that it could be easily and quickly corrected simply by civilized concern."

"Sometimes you seem innately inane," snarled Karl with patient gentility. "People are poor because of low incomes; most income is received as wages; higher wages thus mean greater income; so we can get rid of poverty by sufficiently raising the legal minimum wage."

"You do make it all seem pretty simple-minded," replied Adam wryly. "Just what is a 'sufficient' increase in wages? Would a wage of around $8 an hour be 'sufficient'? For a person working forty hours a week for the entire year, that would mean an annual income of just over $16,000."

"So be bolder," boldly suggested Karl. "Make the minimum hourly wage $10 or $12."

William R. Allen professes in the UCLA Department of Economics that we can prosper only through promoting productivity, not by spouting poetry.

"You call that bold?" chided Adam. "Make it $100 or $1,000 an hour!"

Karl twitched his tail nervously. "You are being a ridiculous rodent," he scolded. "If employers had to pay at least $1,000 an hour, there would be few hired."

"Precisely," confirmed Adam. "Not many are so productive as to be worth such a wage. What is *income* to the worker is *cost* to the employer. It is not good for one's economic health — whether he be a consumer or a supplier — to pay more for something than it is worth. The market value of labor services is determined by what the worker does, how well and attractively he does it, and how many competing workers are available to do the same thing.

"Unhappily," continued Adam, "some are not in a position to offer labor services which the community values very highly. If government then makes it illegal for those people to sell their services at low market prices, offsetting their low productivity, the services will *not* be bought. Pegging wages above market levels reduces the already limited competitive powers of mice who are young, untrained, inexperienced, socially unattractive, or otherwise disadvantaged. Pricing workers out of the labor market, denying them both income and work experience, is a peculiar anti-poverty program. Being unemployed at an artificially high wage is not clearly preferable to obtaining a job at a lower wage."

"Many employers are not teetering right on the edge of bankruptcy," confidently confided Karl. "Obviously, they can't pay $1,000 per hour, but equally obviously, they could raise low wages by a dollar or two an hour. That would yield a fairer distribution of income, a more just — even something of a living — wage."

"You are being more poetic than analytic," replied

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Adam adamantly. "If the whole idea of minimum wages pertains solely to slicing the social output pie and not at all to how the pie is to be produced, then at least have society in general provide the unearned subsidization of low-productivity workers. Have essentially everyone contribute, through government, to the largess to be bestowed, rather than having employers alone bear the burden. And we can only (but unrealistically) hope that such arbitrary slicing of the pie — ignoring productivity, costs, incentives, and competition — does not also make the pie smaller."

Karl was crestfallen but no longer so confused. "Well"," he sighed, "if there is to be employment only at market-determined wages, and if market wages reflect economic productivity, then evidently the only way to raise wages is to increase productivity. We will live better only if we produce more. And we *can* become more productive. But that will require much sense and commitment and investment — and time, requiring education, experience, and mobility. No politician's quickie gimmick or belligerent market subversion will make us wealthy."

THE WORKING PRESS

No Safety Net

Chuck Quackenbush learns it is lonely being a Republican, but not a conservative, under fire.

TIM W. FERGUSON

WOE BE the GOP moderate who gets caught in the meat grinder of scandal, because there won't be anyone to help pull him back from an ugly demise. Chuck Quackenbush learned the Packwood precept: don't ever let the press turn on you. In the insurance commissioner's case, it wasn't sexual peccadilloes, but financial. But the result was the same. When the *Los Angeles Times* led the charge over an apparent slush fund collected from those he regulated, and legislative Democrats ganged up for a bruising, poor ol' Quack looked around and there was hardly an ally in sight. The *Times* took note of this in a front-page piece that ascribed the distancing to the onetime golden boy's maverick manner. Well, not quite. In fact, Quackenbush has been pitted against the Republican right since his first Assembly primary in the 1980s. Later his spouse would take her turn in the internal wars. He didn't go looking for trouble but neither did he endear himself as the years went by, and of course as one of the few remaining statewide figures in the GOP, he became a natural target for potential rivals.

Contrast Quack's experience with that of Scott Baugh, who survived a prosecutor's wrath to become a respected minority leader in the statehouse. Baugh benefited from a cadre of loyalists who shared his beliefs and believed in him.

Lesson for Bill Jones: at least keep the reporters happy.

* * *

Same advice might go for Tom Campbell (who has Jones's 22-year-old daughter as a campaign manager). Early press — to the extent there was any — wasn't hostile to his senate bid . But Greg Kirkorian of the *Times,* who has provided the fullest coverage, kept asking through the spring just where the Campbell campaign was. Amen.

* * *

Another campaign came to a close at the *Times* itself, as the new owners from Tribune Co. of Chicago moved in. The final days were not without incident. On her way out the door, detested publisher Kathryn Downing had unleashed an advertising campaign whose catchline was "connecting us to the world" and whose storyboards included the linkage of blonde beach babes in LA to enshrouded Muslim women in some fundamentalist hellhole. This set off another (the last?) in a long string of tantrums by the politically correct newsroom and allied outside agitators, who claimed affronts to women and Islam. Oh, please. It was even too much for

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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the *Times*-baiting editor of the local *New Times* weekly, who suggested that legal affairs writer Henry Weinstein, one of the in-house petitioners, get back to his knitting. Sure enough, though, the ad campaign was denuded of its offensive graphics, and the slogan became the rather awkward "connecting us to the times." Probably the Tribune crew just wanted to start without baggage. Indeed, Tribune's Jack Fuller was getting a bouquet for progressive beancounting from the media hive at *Newsweek* by late May. But at some point he's going to have to address this cauldron of self-absorption that is his L.A. editorial operation. In the competitive climate of the Windy City, journalists don't have time for this nonsense. They need to fill the paper with news.

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But first, a little more West Coast breast beating. Celebrating the brouhaha over the Staples Center ad deal that so consumed the paper for months, the University of Oregon School of Journalism and Communication gave a Payne (Pain?) Award for Ethics in Journalism to the *Times* newsroom, which trumpeted: "Facing real jeopardy to their jobs and careers, staff members protested the flagrant conflict of interest and petitioned the paper's owners to respect the editorial autonomy and integrity of the *LA Times."* City editor Bill Boyarsky, who read the famous condemnatory epistle from demigod Otis Chandler, and media critic David Shaw, who authored the interminable special section that analyzed the ridiculous deal, accepted the award for the staff.

The exit of Downing and Times Mirror CEO Mark Willes was a paradox for newspaper folks: They were seen as outsiders, ignorant of the ways (and ethics) of the trade, yet they had asserted themselves as the last true believers in mass urban circulation. They said they wanted to boost the *Times'* numbers by a huge amount by reaching the extraordinary number of non-reading households in the L.A. area. They thought a newspaper — the printed pages, not some Internet substitute — could still be the glue that held an informed metropolis together. Once upon a time, this would have been an aspiration that inspired a newsroom. Yet in this instance it became only grounds for further inside derision. Maybe Jack Fuller's profitability path will be more palatable.

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Meanwhile, the San Francisco newspaper world was agog over revelations that Willie Brown had brokered a *deal:* his acquiescence in the politically-charged purchase of the *Chronicle* by the Hearst Corp. in return for having his way with what's left of the *Examiner.* Why any of this was a surprise to anyone is something for pundits to ponder. The "Monarch of the Dailies" was left to protest that it is — for now — harder on Willie than ever.

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Last time we noted that Gray Davis's tiff with the California Teachers Association was attracting commentary in Sacramento. A phony firefight, as it turned out. All good Democrats came together and worked out a common front for the November election. As the headline on *Times* columnist George Skelton's piece on Bob Hertzberg's role in the reconciliation enthused, "New Speaker Is Off to Fast Start With Schools Deal."

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Remember that compromise admissions program for the public universities, under which the top percentage from each high school will be guaranteed admission? It was set up to try to get around the race preference problem under Proposition 209. But, of course, if you did the math you had to realize that some kids with high scores, somewhere, would have to lose out under the scheme. Sure enough, the *Wall Street Journal* on page one reported how, under a similar set-up in Texas, high schools are playing games constantly to see that nobody loses out. In fact, the cutoff is a ruse. Watch this space for California shenanigans.

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Did you read that the city of Torrance won a judgment of $1.7 million in attorneys fees against the U.S. Justice Department ("Civil Rights Division") for a bogus challenge to literacy tests for would-be police officers? Didn't think so. The feds' case was found to be "frivolous." Said the Torrance mayor, "hiring based solely on merit is a principle well worth defending." Yep.

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It's swell that thousands of people in cities across the country will do "AIDS Walks" each year to raise money for the celebrated cure. But why is this still front-page news in the *Orange County Register?*

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Two tickets to an L.A. Clippers game to anyone who can spot the CHP or any other police agency actually citing some jerk for aggressive, unsafe motoring.

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*Projects of Regional Concern

On the brink of annihilation, Republicans performed a miracle. They grew a spine. They fought for something more than themselves. And they won.

by Ray Haynes

IN THE winter of 1776, George Washington was in retreat. The colonies had just declared their independence, General Howe had landed in New York, and chased Washington out of the Brooklyn Heights. Washington's army retreated in haste. He was defeated at every turn, divided into three separate units, and at least one of the generals in command of one of the units was openly insubordinate, seeking to replace Washington as commander-in-chief of the revolutionary military. Washington was driven up to the Delaware River, his army in disarray. He was desperate. He conceived a plan to invade Trenton, New Jersey, on Christmas. His advisors told him to end the campaign and regroup in the spring (a common practice in those days). Washington was reported to have said "Gentleman, if we do not send these men home with a victory this winter, we will have no army in the spring." The battle of Trenton was that victory.

It was not a huge battle, and strategically, it was relatively insignificant, but it was a victory. Washington lost many more battles. He was always outnumbered and under-provisioned. But he also had other victories, even under severe circumstances, like Valley Forge in 1777. He held his army together in the midst of treachery and against great odds. He ultimately won the war. For that, he was heralded as a great general.

California's rag-tag band of legislative Republicans are up against odds similar to those faced by Washington in that winter of 1776. They lose most of their battles. They are constantly hounded by the treachery of their own Republican peers. They are outnumbered, outgunned, and outmaneuvered in the legislative war occurring in Sacramento. Yet, the budget battle of the summer of 2000 may yet prove to be the equivalent of Washington crossing

Republican Whip Ray Haynes, a member of the state Senate Budget Committee, represents California's 36th state Senate District (Riverside).

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the Delaware for the battle of Trenton.

How can that be? The budget exceeded $100 billion. General fund spending increased more than 37 percent since Pete Wilson left office. More than 100 new programs with permanent built-in spending increases are created in the budget. And there were almost no tax cuts. How can Republicans call this a victory?

SIMPLE. THREE days before the budget was to be enacted, Republicans were in disarray. The budget fight wasn't a retreat, it was a rout. Republicans were running for the hills, every man for himself. As a legislative or political force, the Republicans were within three days from becoming completely irrelevant for the rest of the decade.

The major culprit: pork (or, as the budget negotiators came to call it, "projects of regional concern" — PORC). Governor Davis had made it clear he would veto any special request of a legislator who refused to vote *for* the budget. Some Republicans, thinking they were elected to grow government, were ready to vote to obtain "their share" of the $12 billion surplus (part of $20 billion *more* available to the government than the spending indulged in during the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1999). They were ready to sacrifice anything to obtain the $500,000, $1 million, or $3-to-5 million special project in their district.

In the Senate, Cathie Wright sold out early. She will tell you she "fought and obtained" $15.7 million for a program she calls "systems of care." She will tell you it is a highly successful method of treating children who are the victims of mental illness, and it may be. It also didn't cost $15.7 million. It cost more than $6 billion. That was the cost of her selling her vote early. Senate Republicans could not hold out for that much in tax cuts because Senator Wright sold them out for $15.7 million. That "systems of care" program will last about a year, since that is how long Senator Wright will remain in the Legislature. The taxes she protected with her vote will last much longer.

Of course, she was not alone, but she made it easier for Senator Dave Kelley to leave the reservation when he received his $6 million for the museum of archaeology in Riverside County (actually in my district). These two Senate Republicans gave Senate Democrats the votes they needed to pass the budget, and they said no more tax cuts. It hurt the cause. On the day of the vote, Senators Rainey, McPherson, Johannesson, and Monteith joined Wright and Kelley making the vote 31-9, all for the sake of protecting their PORC.

Assembly Republicans had a more interesting problem. From the beginning, according to Assembly sources, Baugh and chief budget negotiator, George Runner, were at loggerheads. (Runner was rumored to be more concerned about his PORC than about the long-term health of California's taxpayers). In any case, Runner made it clear that he was *the* Assembly GOP negotiator. Scott Baugh sustained head injuries in a car accident a week before the budget vote was set, creating a significant distraction from the battle for the GOP leader.

Assemblyman Brett Granlund reportedly agreed to vote for the budget after he was promised a gubernatorial appointment. Other Republicans worried about their PORC. Some believed their reelection depended on PORC for their district (we *all* know that the advocates of big government consistently support Republicans). Whatever their reasons, these members, including some in safe Republican districts, were ready to abandon California's taxpayers. The recipe for disaster was set.

Then a miracle occurred. These Republicans grew a spine. They began to fight for something more than their personal agendas. They began to fight for real, permanent tax relief for the taxpayer. And they got it. When the budget debate began, Democrats proposed a one-time rebate and no permanent tax relief. When the debate ended, the state Legislature passed a real *permanent* tax cut.

Assembly Republicans achieved that victory. They achieved it by holding together. It wasn't a big victory. It wasn't the great tax cut that undoubtedly some political consultants will claim that it is. It was, however, a win. They put one in the "W" column. For the first time in two years, Assembly Republicans staked out a position, fought for it, and won. That is major. Senate Republicans have yet to achieve a similar victory.

PART OF achieving political relevance is to stake out a position, and fight for it. That is a difficult proposition under the current circumstances in the legislature. Republicans achieved some semblance of relevancy in this budget fight. The only issue remaining is whether they can learn the lessons the fight taught.

Republicans will lose most of the fights in the Legislature. They

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are outgunned, outnumbered, and outmaneuvered. However, as Washington proved, an army can lose most of its battles, and still win the war. It must choose its battles wisely, and stand together. Treachery will occur. Personal egos and agendas will interfere with strong stands on behalf of principle. Politicians are people, after all, and people often raise short-term personal expediency above long-term pursuit of principles they know are right. Construed correctly, however, this budget fight could be the equivalent of the crossing of the Delaware.

Conflict of Interest

Busy Greg Craig represents Juan Gonzalez, Elian Gonzalez, *and* the head of Fidel Castro's U.S. Fan Club. How *does* he keep it all straight?

by Leon McKinney

Conflict of Interest — ... a lawyer shall not represent a client if the lawyer's professional judgment on behalf of the client will be, or reasonably may be, adversely affected by the lawyer's responsibilities to or interests in a third party or the lawyer's own financial, business, property, or personal matters.

Prohibited Transactions — A lawyer shall not accept compensation for representing a client from one other than the client unless .... there is no interference with the lawyer's independence of professional judgment or with the client-lawyer relationship.

— Washington D.C. Bar Association's Rules of Professional Conduct

June 6, 2000

Office of Bar Counsel
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Sirs:

I hereby file a formal complaint against D.C. Bar member Greg Craig on the grounds that Mr. Craig committed multiple violations of the D.C. Bar's Rules of Professional Conduct in the course of his "representation" of Cuban national Mr. Juan Miguel Gonzalez and his son, Elian Gonzalez.

Pro- Communist History

Mr. Craig has a long history of formal associations with, and, in at least one case, legal representation of, parties who have clearly demonstrated that their interests are more aligned with those of Cuba's communist regime than those of ordinary Cuban citizens.

Mr. Craig was a vehement Vietnam anti-war protester during his years at Harvard. At Yale, he began his long personal relationship with both President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Clinton. Upon his graduation from Yale, Mr. Craig turned over his Yale apartment to Bill and Hillary, who lived there before they were married.

A few years later, during the 1980s, Mr. Craig served prominently on Senator Ted Kennedy's staff, where he was involved in orchestrating a 1984 hearing on alleged human-rights abuses by the anti-Sandinista *Contra* rebels. Intended as a dramatic exposé of the Contras, the hearing fizzled when a key incident under investigation was exposed as an agitprop operation perpetrated by the Sandinistas.

Pro- Castro Sympathies

In 1998 and 1999, Mr. Craig served as Mr. Clinton's personal attorney during impeachment. Subsequently, Mr. Clinton has repeatedly made clear that his primary goal during the remaining time of his presidency is to establish a "legacy" of some sort. Mr. Clinton has indicated that one part of that legacy could be the restoration of normal relations with the communist regime in Cuba.

Mr. Craig serves on the board of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which supports normalization of relations with Castro.

Most recently, we learned that Mr. Craig escorted Elian Gonzalez and his father, Juan Miguel Gonzalez, to a gathering at the Georgetown mansion of Mr. Smith Bagley. Mr. Bagley is chairman of the Arca Foundation, a lobbying

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First Amendment Death Certificate

Hail, Holy Queens: The Old Religion of The New Democrats

James Bemis

"When Man stops believing in God, it isn't that he'll then believe in nothing, but that he'll believe anything." — G. K. Chesterton

For the weird, kinky, or perverted — sorry, I meant to say those living an alternative lifestyle — this session of the California Legislature must seem like something out of their fantasy life. Gay rights advocates, partial-birth abortion "providers," crush video connoisseurs, and militant feminists march proudly through the

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James Bemis writes a weekly column for the Los Angeles Daily News *and his five-part series, "Through the Eyes of the Church: The Vatican's 45 Most Important Films of All Time," was recently published in* The Wanderer, *a national Catholic weekly publication.*

Targeting Religion and the Family

John Kurzweil

Bill Lockyer, California's doctrinaire liberal attorney general, tried to boost the campaign against last March's Defense of Marriage initiative by re-writing its official ballot title, making it the "Limitation of Marriage" initiative. Lockyer evidently hoped that introducing the code word "limit" would set off red flags in voters' minds that here was one of those bigoted attempts to define a minority category of people out of the respectable mainstream. But his maneuver backfired. While focus groups seemed to see little reason for a "Defense of Marriage" measure, a "Limitation of Marriage"

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John Kurzweil is California Political Review's *editor.*

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hallowed halls of Sacramento, banners triumphantly unfurled. Meanwhile, those pushing for a small tax cut for families in the face of the state's $12 billion surplus are snickered at as "out of touch" with their constituencies' real desires.

And maybe they are.

At last count, the state Legislature had approved or was considering 31 bills promoting the radical left sex agenda, ranging from teaching "tolerance" of homosexuality in public schools to equating homosexual couplings with marriage (so much for Proposition 22.) A bill outlawing partial birth abortions died in a Senate committee, and another intended to prohibit the production of disgusting "crush videos" — films showing the slow, tortuous pulverization of insects and animals that some perverts apparently find arousing - never made it out of its Assembly committee. First Amendment rights, you know.

The Legislature's *pièce d' resistance,* though, came on May 11. On that historic day, Assembly Bill 2142, *aka* "the Cross-Dressers Bill of Rights," passed the Assembly by a 41-30 party-line vote. Sponsored by Assemblyman Fred Keeley, D-Santa Cruz, AB 2142 grants legal protection to cross-dressers under the California Fair Employment and Housing Act. FEHA prohibits discrimination on the basis of, among other things, sex. And AB 2142 expands the operative definition of "sex" to include "gender," which it defines as either a person's actual sex or your *perception* of another person's sex or, going even further, your perception of their "identity, appearance, or behavior" as it contributes to your idea of a person's sex or gender. What does all this gobbledegook mean? It means that one of the key ingredients in violating this law is your thought, your perception. In short, it means your thoughts can put you on a collision course with your government. If you act on your "perception," you may be breaking the law, even if your perception is consistent with factors "traditionally associated with the person's sex at birth." The idea is that one's sex, like everything else in our relativist world, is unreal: a wide open, meaningless notion that we may define as we please — and you, as a boss or a co-worker or a landlord, must go along without objecting even to the point of criticizing a plainly absurd self-definition. If you do not so go along, your "repressive intolerance" will call forth the full force of the state to make you do so. This is called "civil rights" legislation.

At the time of this writing, the measure is scheduled for consideration by the state Senate in late June, and, if approved there, on to the governor for approval. The signing ceremony promises to be — to say the least — very colorful.

Didn't know the cross-dressing "community" urgently needed the Legislature's special protection? Shows how old-fashioned you are.

As Assemblyman Keeley explained, apparently with a straight face: "[Transgender people are] certainly not, in this bill, getting anything other than equal protection. My goal is to be certain that people are not discriminated against in employment and housing based on another person's perception of their gender."

Such are the fruits of the "civil rights" revolution.

OUR BRAVE NEW WORLD

Despite elements of high comedy, as with all actions of our all-powerful state, AB 2142's implications are deadly serious. Consider the following: Suppose you run a small company. One day, Joe, your right-hand man, starts coming to work dressed like Jo, the showgirl. Lipstick, mascara, short-skirt, high heels — the whole bit. Naturally, the entire work force is distracted by this spectacle and production plummets as the office buzzes. Customers, wondering what other weirdness might be overtaking your company, stay away in droves. Finally, forced to choose between tolerance and making the payroll, you decide Joe — or really, Jo — has to go. You pick up the phone to make the call.

Hold it right there, fella. Your government has something to say about that! Under AB 2142, "discrimination" against Joe could cost

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you 50,000 smackers. So either get over it, or find yourself a good lawyer.

All this for trying to protect your business from ruin. *Your* business, mind you.

Or imagine this: Your poor widowed mother has a room to rent. After rejecting the usual parade of horribles, Billie, a middle-aged woman with an affinity for big hair and poofy dresses, comes a-callin.' Despite a slightly strange leer, your mother decides Billie seems nice enough and offers her the room. But when the deposit check is signed by "William J. Smith," momma realizes Billie isn't a slightly disheveled woman but Billy, a very strange man. Naturally, she changes her mind and wants to send Billy packing — silk pantyhose and all. She begins tearing up the check.

Better get used to living with whomever you're told to take in, even if they remind you of* Psycho's *Norman Bates.

Not so fast, sister! Don't you know the state has the final say here? Property rights, schmoperty rights. AB 2142 states housing discrimination against drag queens like William J. could result in a financially ruinous $150,000 penalty. Not too many people I know — and *no* poor widowed mothers — could weather a financial storm like that. Mom, better get used to living with whomever you're told to take in, even if they remind you of *Psycho's* Norman Bates. The full power of government rests squarely on their side.

"O brave new world, That has such people in it!" Despite his great imagination, Shakespeare didn't know the half of it. How could he?

MEET THE NEW GODS

Now to the ordinary American, that a powerful organ of government would pass such a measure as AB 2142 may seem laughable, ludicrous, or perhaps even stupid. Or maybe, giving our elected officials the benefit of the doubt, it's just a lovable bit of lunacy from a group drunk with its own power.

It reminds one of nothing so much as a scene from Woody Allen's 1971 comedy, *Bananas.* When a third-world dictator takes control of a banana republic, his first order is that underwear is to be changed every half-hour. To ensure compliance, he also mandates that underwear must now be worn on the outside!

Better that I stop here before our Assembly leadership gets even more bright ideas.

But before dismissing AB 2142 as simply innocent totalitarian fun, one most take note of a shocking fact: Not a single Democrat member of the Assembly voted against this idiotic piece of legislation. Most of the other outrageous bills mentioned above had strong Democrat Party support also. Clearly, something more than merely collective insanity is afoot here.

The motivating force behind the Democrats' lockstep march against traditional morality is the same one that has been driving men for centuries: religion. No, it's not the Christian religion, certainly, but it is a religion nevertheless. As noted at the beginning of this article, Chesterton, ever the prophet, had it exactly right.

To understand what the battle is about, we must step back from the fray for a minute. Progressives have made a religion — with worship, symbols, rituals, and saints — out of their supernatural ideal, Enlightened Man. This belief describes man as born good, and then corrupted by an authoritarian environment. Free him, educate him, and through reason and rationality he will return to his naturally good state, living in peace and harmony with his neighbors. He needs no metaphysical being to help him to reach perfection; he may, given enough freedom and facts, attain Heaven right here on earth.

Because this is a false religion, its fruits are ugly and often evil, but its theology is very distinct. Man is deified, becoming his own god; public schools are houses of spiritual cleansing and worship; the unborn are sacrifices to the

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god of individual sovereignty; modernist saints (Freud, Darwin, Marx, and others) are canonized, and the sacred beliefs of human judgment, equality, tolerance, democracy, and progress are the myths of its orthodoxy. (Progress and, indeed, all these "ideals" conveying but one meaning in the mouths of the left: how far we've diverged from Christian morality.) Heretics, *i.e.,* those who violate politically correct taboos, are hunted down and driven from civil society. Interestingly, the left's new faith is actually an old religion, known to mankind long before the time of Aristotle and Plato. It is a modern form of paganism and, as currently practiced, is the perfectly logical extension of the historical period called "the Enlightenment," the rebellion against God and traditional religion.

Early on, paganism involved the deification of anthropomorphized animals, later evolving to polytheism, typified by the many gods of the Greeks and Romans. For the modern pagan, as we see, it is man himself who is worshiped and glorified.

By this light, since Enlightened Man is naturally good, so are his instincts. And his instincts, or appetites, are aroused by voluptuous beauty. These appetites lead to sensual desires, fulfillment of which is the highest "good" existing in Enlightened Man's universe. The only sin is restricting pursuit of this "good." Hence liberals' fanatical devotion to the sacred cause of the sexual revolution, one of the foundations of modern paganism. To further their objectives, they will allow nothing — not truth, not decency, not traditional morality, not even maintaining the appearance of sanity — to stand in their way.

Drag Queens aren't weird, then, but warriors fighting on the front lines of the Sexual Crusade. Far from being degenerates, they're moral exemplars!

Enlightened Man's obsession with physical fulfillment has a profound impact on ideas about society. Here, each person is isolated in his or her own private world of subjectivity, in which every choice is as good or bad as another: Homosexuality is as worthy as heterosexuality, "domestic partnerships" equally deserving of respect as a husband and wife, and, coming full circle, cross-dressing just another valid lifestyle.

In this religion, the individual becomes an entity outside the reach of the shared values of the community. This leads to extreme selfishness and a deep sense of personal alienation. Lacking the overarching metaphysical moral code of monotheism — where every creature is subject to the Creator's natural law — the Progressive's worship of himself leads to devotion to a panoply of little personal deities, each governing Enlightened Man's dreams and desires: Eros today; the bacchanal Dionysius tomorrow; tyrannical Zeus, the following. Fruits of Enlightened Man's apostolic tradition include the French Terror, Nazi Germany, and the still-vigorous scourge of communism, whose horrors have dwarfed those of the first two.

To Enlightened Men like Robespierre, Hitler, Stalin and others, the idea of charity — that is, love of neighbor — is a laughable form of soft-headed sentimentality. People and things exist only to increase our power and pleasure. They function, simply, as accessories or obstacles toward those goals, acquired or disposed of accordingly. Nothing else — least of all, a Final Judgment — matters. That's why, in every "people's revolution," so many little guys are ground into dust.

Nevertheless, the venerated image of the New Left has become that of Enlightened Man — man without God, creator of his own universe, living by his own rules. Because of his fallen nature, though, man — no matter how enlightened — is incapable of foreseeing the consequences of his actions. Because of this lack of true wisdom and flawed reasoning ability, a universe built solely on man's rules is destined to fail. Despite his pretenses, an enlightened man is ultimately merely a silly, naked, self-obsessed being, the worship of whom cannot sustain a great civilization. Predictably, then, modernity's shining dream of Enlightened Man has degenerated into the wretched, ugly hag: today's culture.

Standing directly opposed to this modern paganism is, of course, traditional Judeo-

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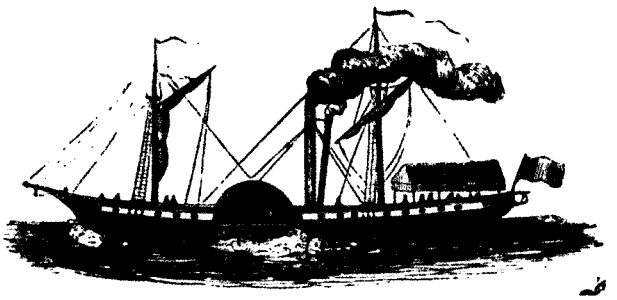
Christian morality. The New Left's legions thus assault Christian institutions with the fervor of a horde of termites attacking a decaying monastery. It is literally the only thing standing in the way of their achieving absolute power. Yes, I do mean here in America, the land of the free.

Too few take notice of this *jihad* at the heart of the New Democrats' assault on Judeo-Christian culture. Maybe the populace, its decent instincts corrupted by our porn culture, is too logy to realize what's at stake. If they don't wake up soon, though, we're certain to learn a hard lesson eventually discovered by every pagan culture: that man without God is a beast. And not a very likable one, either.



Kurzweil

(Continued from page 15)

initiative made them think someone must be trying to change marriage's definition. If that was the case, most people wanted such nonsense stopped. Proposition 22 won a lopsided 61-to-39 percent victory.

Lockyer's bungle exposed the wide difference between the motivating vision of the homosexual political movement and that of the public. Few Californians, presumably, think people should be singled out and punished for their beliefs either for or against homosexuality or even for their sexual habits and proclivities, so long as they refrain from trying to force others to adopt them. The homosexual movement succeeds most when it appeals to this essential American impulse toward live-and-let-live. A recent letter to the editor of a national newspaper, for instance, began a defense of the campaign to stop Dr. Laura Schlessinger's TV show by saying "I am a mother of gay and lesbian children. I live in constant fear that they will be gay-bashed or lose a job through no fault of their own ...." It went on to worry that Dr. Laura, by calling homosexuality immoral, would contribute to the likelihood this mother's fears would be realized. The idea, plainly, is that the homosexual political movement is a matter of protecting the civil rights of a particular group of victimized people. So far, so good, but the trouble with leftist political movements is that they tend to recognize ideals like "civil rights" only so far as they serve their larger political goals, and to forget them when the other guy's rights are endangered. The current — last year and this — carpet bombing the state Legislature is dropping of "Gay Rights" bills, for instance, is anything but a campaign based on the premise that people should *not* be singled out and punished for their beliefs either for or against homosexuality. On the contrary, a survey even of only the chief bills addressing this topic introduced, and, in many cases passed, during 1999 and 2000 in Sacramento shows clearly that the rightness or wrongness of singling out and punishing people over their beliefs about homosexuality depends, simply, on whether or not you agree with the orthodox Democrat view of the issue. If you do, it is wrong. But if you disagree, look out.

Consider AB 537, for instance, passed in 1999 and now law in California. This education bill is a somewhat shortened version of an

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earlier bill, AB 222 by Sheila Kuehl, that was defeated. 537 begins with a preamble and list of legislative findings that conservative Sacramento attorney David Llewellyn says "hype horror statistics of teenage violence, hate crimes, and suicides, which have nothing whatsoever to do with the subject matter of the bill. AB 537 does not change a single law dealing with crimes of violence, hate crimes, or suicide. AB 537 imposes new restrictions against sexual orientation discrimination by *public school officials and programs* — not against the people who are actually responsible for teenage violence, hate, or suicide." (emphasis in original). This law is also not about Jim Crow accommodations for homosexuals, or segregating homosexuals out of public schools, or any other of the activities Americans think of when the words "discrimination" or "civil rights" are invoked. It is about enforcing the premise that anyone articulating or acting on the *moral conclusion that homosexual behavior is wrong* is actively promoting "gay bashing" — ostracism, hatred, and violence directed at people who happen to be homosexual.

First, consider the bill's relevance to traditional civil rights concerns .... all done? You should be, because it hasn't any, for the simple reason that *existing law already protects all persons from discriminatory behavior against them because of, among other characteristics, their sexual orientation (defined as heterosexuality, homosexuality, or bisexuality).*

• Under Civil Code §51.7, it is illegal to intimidate by threat of violence against people because of their sexual orientation. A $25,000 civil penalty, awarded to the injured party backs this up;

• In addition, under Penal Code §§422.6, 422.7, and 422.75 it is a crime to force or use threat of force, willfully injure, interfere with, oppress, or threaten any person because of, among other characteristics, their sexual orientation. Further, this section makes it a crime to deface, damage, or destroy real or personal property of any person because of their sexual orientation. The penalty is county jail and fines

This law is about enforcing the premise that anyone articulating or acting on the moral conclusion that homosexual behavior is wrong is actively promoting 'gay bashing.'

or, for felonious violations, state prison and fines;

• Under Education Code §33032.5, teachers and administrators are given authority to prevent and respond to acts of hate violence (defined to include those motivated by the victim's "sexual orientation") on their campuses. Education Code §48900.3 provides that students grades 4 through 12 may be suspended and expelled if they cause, try to cause, or participate in an act of hate violence.

I am not here concerned with the wisdom of these laws, addressing as they do matters that are also illegal under general laws against violent attacks on one's neighbors. I merely point them out to show that the superficial justification for AB 537 is phony. Those concerns are covered, thoroughly, even redundantly, already. What, then, is 537's purpose? What made it so important to Assemblywoman Kuehl that she fought for this bill past its first defeat, on through a full-blown resurrection in another bill with slight modifications, in a campaign that lasted many months and, presumably, used up carloads of political capital? Is it just another statement that the state won't tolerate anti-homosexual violence or hate? No.

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It is an assault on freedom of thought, speech, educational inquiry, and association. It is a transformation of the definition of "discrimination" beyond *mistreating* homosexuals to include *disagreeing* with them or, more specifically, disagreeing with Ms. Kuehl's orthodoxy about the topic. As David Llewellyn puts it: "AB 537 is discriminatory because it could ban Christian, Jewish, and Muslim religious groups, churches, and faith-based organizations from using public school facilities for meetings under the California Civil Center Act."

Why? Because those religions teach that "homosexuality is immoral and sinful," beliefs that are themselves now proscribed in California not by a private religious organization whose membership is voluntary and which is incapable, in any case, of forcing even its own members to profess or live by its teachings, but by the state of California — *your* government, whose ability and willingness to use brute force against dissenters is all too real. So much for the premise that people should not be singled out and punished for their beliefs.

But that is not all. This is an educational policy, imposing this anti-intellectual model on our schools. As Llewellyn further points out: 537 "conflicts with a sex education bill already enacted by the Legislature this year [1999] and signed into law, AB 246. AB 246 requires that all information in sex and AIDS prevention education programs must be 'medically accurate.' But AB 537 would declare sexual orientation to be an unchallengeable civil right in the public schools, specially protected against all of the medically accurate evidence questioning homosexual practices." Can our schools now safely and honestly study sexually transmitted diseases, AIDS, the psychological and social problems involved with the "gay" lifestyle? When the Claremont Institute tried to hold a scholarly conference in a downtown Los Angeles hotel to discuss such matters as whether or not homosexual tendencies are inborn or learned, the "gay" political movement indicated what it thought of such free discussion by threatening violence, boycotts, smear campaigns — all the evils they cry tears over when visited on them, now made righteous and pure against ... who? what? Violence against homosexuals? No. Against speech, thoughts, moral conclusions with which they disagree. If they resort to such tactics to smother free thought just because Claremont wants to hold one quiet conference, would it not be foolish to imagine they would hesitate to use force in service of thought and speech control when they have the full authority of the state sanctioning it? Anyway, as we've seen, this bill has no other purpose to serve, and yet was the product of prodigious effort. Ms. Kuehl does not work that hard for nothing.

Is AB 537 a fluke? Hardly. It is part of a vast armada of bills aiming at the same objective: criminalization of politically incorrect thoughts about homosexuality — public thoughts, private thoughts, religious thoughts, educational thoughts. This is a religious war aiming to impose its creed on California or else. Some other examples:

AB 1001: passed in 1999, by Assemblyman, former Speaker, and now Los Angeles mayoral candidate Antonio Villaraigosa. A Sacramento-based pro-religious freedom group, the Capitol Resource Institute, last year described AB 1001 as

> elevating "sexual orientation" to the same level as race and ethnicity in the powerful Fair Employment and Housing Act (FEHA). This means tax-funded investigations and fines and damages up to $50,000 or more against property owners, business owners, Bible book stores, religious radio stations, and even some churches, that are morally opposed to homosexuality. Also, by declaring 'sexual orientation' to be an official 'civil right,' schoolchildren would have to be taught to approve of homosexuality and the homosexual political movement.

One notices the tendency toward redundance of these measures. Evidently, the

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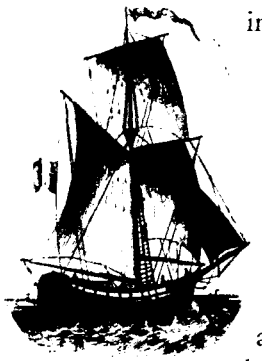
idea is to sow the premise and the practice of condemning incorrect thinking so ubiquitously through the law that any future effort to root it out will be akin to removing cancer from a fully-engulfed lung. Also, it surely will be asked, how could a policy popping up over and over throughout the codes and in nearly every institutional arrangement of the state possibly be bad? Where there is no popular consensus for this policy, the illusion of one is dishonestly manufactured by repeating it here, there, and everywhere. Redundant lying to make the lie seem true is, of course, nothing new, among tyrants. Indeed, our friend Sheila Kuehl introduced and saw passed another bill, AB 1670, also in 1999, that largely reproduces the specific effects of Villaraigosa's AB 1001. According to Capitol Resource Institute, 1670 "adds fines and damages of $150,000 to use against persons of conscience who are opposed to homosexuality. The bill would fund expert witness fees, which would pay for gay activists to persecute citizens in court. AB 1670 would also subject workplace supervisors to vague harassment laws."



Senate Bill 1260, introduced last year by Tom Hayden, provided for elementary school courses on "homophobia," "religious intolerance," and "other forms of bigotry." John Vasconcellos's SB 1173 provided for "parental" visitation rights for non-parents, such as in cases of lesbian relationships, against the biological parents' wishes. AB 525, by Kuehl and Assemblywoman Helen Thomson, was intended to require hospitals and health organizations to insert "sexual orientation" into their policies. To do business with the state, private insurance companies would first have to promote homosexuality. "This complex bill," Capitol Resource comments, "also gives the Attorney General new powers to promote abortion and contraception and contraceptives in hospitals. This bill especially targets Catholic hospitals."

This year, as if to repudiate the voters as emphatically as possible, legislative Democrats produced a long list of "domestic partners" bills whose intended effect, plainly, is to undermine Proposition 22. AB 2047 equates "domestic partner" with married spouse for autopsies, for medical decision-making, in conservatorships, in statutory will form, and with regard to intestate succession. Randy Thomason's Campaign for Working Families analyzed 2047, showing that virtually all its important provisions do nothing that is not already provided in contract law. That is, this bill is agitprop, a symbolic repudiation of Proposition 22 in particular and of marriage in general. As real law, it addresses nothing. AB 2211 appears to be an involuted attempt to permit California judges to grant homosexual "marriages" recognized by other states all the basic rights of real marriages. It is plainly a direct assault on Proposition 22. AB 1990 and AB 2421 further, redundantly, try to equate "domestic partners" with marriage, following the now-familiar formula.

This campaign, justified in the name of tolerance, shows no tolerance; defended as necessary to protect homosexuals, does little that is not *un*necessary for homosexuals or anyone else; glorified as a continuation of the civil rights crusades of the last half-century, repudiates the civil, free speech, free thought, and free association rights of anyone, especially students and teachers, who thinks differently from the few who write the laws. This is not about homosexuals. It is not a civil rights crusade. It is an assault on Judaeo-Christian religion and on the family launched by a competing religious vision. It seeks to employ the brute force of the state to compel obedience and obliterate dissent. It is the Bill Lockyer vision — freedom is for the left: to define our lives, our institutions, our morality. For the rest of us, freedom is the freedom to submit or be sued, fined, and persecuted as far as the political temper of the time will permit.

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Escape Artist

Recalling a YAF hero — the unlikely, liberating journey of Phillip Abbot Luce.

by Shawn Steel

Phillip Abbott Luce died quietly, of natural causes, in December 1998, in his native Springfield, Ohio. He had also lived quietly, at least as far as the wide world could tell, for many years before his death, but his life was not always so. To my generation of '60s-era Young Americans for Freedom, Phillip Abbott Luce was a hero: a former radical who had twice traveled illegally to Cuba under the auspices of the pro-Red Chinese Progressive Labor Party, who had been indicted and who testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee as a result, and who awoke from his communist daze in 1965 to be born again as an author, lecturer, and organizer against his lost faith. Like many others who later broke with the god of leftism, Luce sought to take some good from his bad experience by telling the truth about it. In *The New Left,* his first post-communist book, published in

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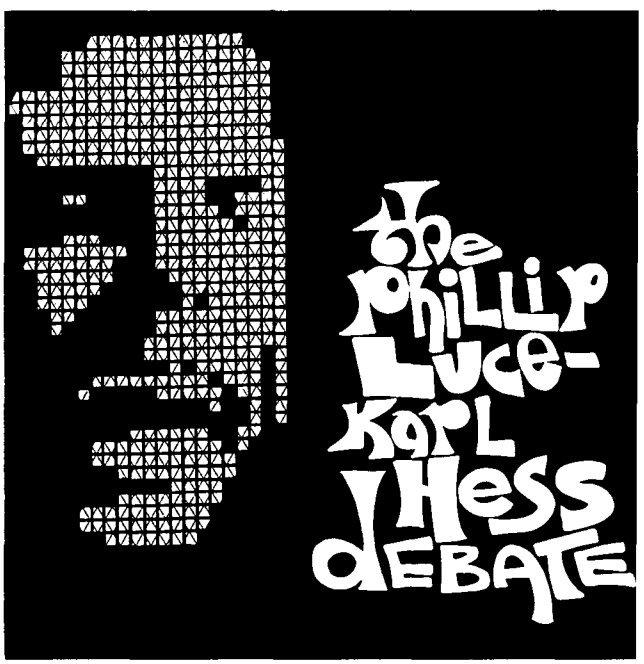
1966, he wrote that he would "feel that the public exposure of my own political aberrations has resulted in something worthwhile" if he succeeded in keeping "one young person from wasting the time that I did in the Communist movement."

Phillip Luce's beginnings appear somewhat uncertain. According to the Ohio Department of Health, he turned 63 on his last birthday before he died, having been born October 17, 1935. But three of his books say he was born three years later, in 1938. "Young people feel that anyone over thirty is an enemy," he wrote in *The New Left,* so perhaps the birth dates in the books (published between '65 and '68) were hedged to keep him within the age limits of his audience's trust. That would have been fitting in a way — a parting indulgence in characteristic New Left irresponsibility about facts in particular and reality in general. The ease with which the left falls into self-delusion and into deceiving others is a recurring theme in Luce's post-communist writing. Another is the left's gross irresponsibility in stirring up trouble, as when it calmly casts whole, huge categories of people — anyone over 30, for instance — as "enemies."

These are the elements that combined, finally, to drive Luce out of communism: at last he saw that the left's super-charged determination to act, to make things happen, especially to tear things down, alongside its blasé unconcern for reality — for the actual context or consequences of its frantic destructiveness — cannot be reconciled with one's own humanity. He began his break when he discovered he "had become part of a leadership [in the Progressive Labor Party] actively involving a number of young persons, some of them personal friends, in a series of plans in which the participants had no idea of the consequences." Specifically, Luce found himself among people setting others up for personal disaster, encouraging and facilitating them, for instance, in skipping bail on a federal indictment, going "underground" as fugitives, secretly holding and moving guns in New York City, and fomenting riots, all as part of bringing on an "armed insurrection" that would lead to a new American civil war.



> I discovered that I had deluded myself into believing that this world held the answer to the future and that Communism was basically humanitarian in its approach to politics. No one duped me into joining, and the struggle to see through my folly has been a great personal struggle. You don't discover early some morning that everything you believe in, and perhaps have staked your life on, is a myth. The act of breaking with Communism was the most difficult one of my life.

Phillip Abbott Luce, a child of "middle-class Republican parents," grew up in the Midwest where, he said, "I led the usual childhood. Graduation from high school led me to college at Miami University of Ohio, where I ran track" — not, he commented, what, at first glance, would appear to be an ideal background for "any role in an American Communist organization."

But he left school, partly, he wrote, as a result of trouble with the administration over publishing an off-campus humor magazine. He traveled south, where his radicalization began after he resumed his education at Mississippi State University. It was the mid-1950s, and Luce had an off-campus job in a print shop that happened to be owned by the treasurer of the Mississippi White Citizens Councils. He learned enough about the Councils' racist doings to get himself kicked off the campus newspaper for attacking them in his weekly political news columns, where he also blasted the Mississippi Legislature. He returned to Ohio in 1958, devoting his Master's thesis at Ohio State University to a study of the Mississippi Councils from 1954 to 1958. "The civil rights struggle was in full bloom," he wrote. "Picketing, sit-ins, boycotts, and freedom rides all captured the imagination of many young American students." His Mississippi activities had automatically placed him in the forefront of the "radical left."

But it was not communist ideology *per se* that at-

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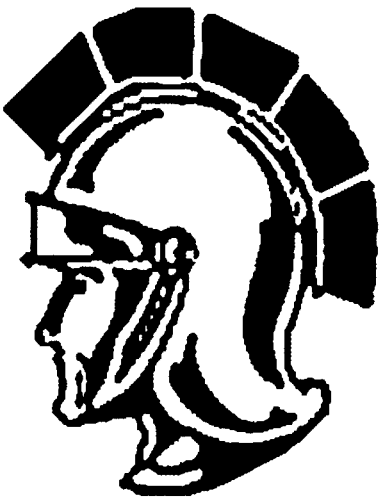
Southern California
Free Trojan

September 21, 1970 • Published by USC Young Americans for Freedom



Jerry Clyde Rubin

Clown Prince of the Diaper Set

by Phillip Abbott Luce

To **Do It!** or not to **Do It!** is a more pregnant question than you might assume. **Do It!** is some kind of book published by one of our larger capitalist presses (Simon and Schuster) and written by Jerry Clyde Rubin. Rubin, in case you're a hermit, is one of the Chicago Seven and a darling of the political diaper set. He has the hairy ability to epitomize most of the fears of middle America.

It is too easy to simply discount **Do It!** either because of the character of the author or the nihilism he espouses. Jerry may be a political malaprop but his book shows some mastery of the medium technique argued by McLuhan. In fact, **Do It!** and Woodstock Nation by Jerry's compatriot Abbie Hoffman very effectively utilize graphics and varied type styles to capture the would-be readers' attention.

The publishers plug on the back of the paperback edition of **Do It!** calmly states that: "This book will become a Molotov cocktail in your hands, Jerry Rubin has written The Communist Manifesto or our era. **Do It!** is a Declaration of War between the generations — calling on kids to leave their homes, burn down their schools and create a new society upon the ashes of the old." If that rhetoric isn't enough to make you rush down to your local bookstore then it should at least make you wonder what they are smoking at Simon and Schuster.

Do It! is dedicated to "Nancy, Dope, Color TV, and Violent Revolution!" The author admonishes his audience to "read this book stoned!" — not a bad idea; then it might make sense.

In the whole of **Do It!** I probably receive as much note as anyone — except of course Jerry. Why this hatred, this spleen letting? What is on Rubin's mind that makes him nervous when I'm around?

This naturally leads me to a story: last year Jolly Jerry came out to California on a speaking tour. The local YAF people at Long Beach State called me to relate the news. Having nothing better to do, my wife and I drove up to Long Beach from La Jolla in order to witness the appearance of Rubin in Southern California.

Rubin gave his then usual rap about the state and how we should tear it down with humor and violence. There he was replete with Indian head band, crossed bandoleers, war paint, and Yippie. He was a clown talking to middle-class white radical students and urging them to destroy the system by painting the buildings red. And they dug it and they all laughed and shouted and kept their seats. Then Jerry told them how evil capitalism was by saying "private property is pure shit." And everyone would giggle and think it was cute to hate property 'cause Jerry said it was "in" to hate property. And there was some good rapport between Rubin and the audience although most of them were too apathetic to even be psyched-out by the shock technique of calling Ronnie Reagan a "M----- F-----."

Oh, it was all very classy and quite the thing that day at Long Beach. And when it was all over Jerry and some big body-guard type walked over to the bookstore and started rapping with some of the local radicals. Then it all just sort-of happened.

My wife and I were walking with a friend, Dana Rohrabacher, who had just come back from a wild trip in Czechoslovakia, and we walked over to Jerry and his buddy. Dana, being a marvelous free spirit, immediately began to butt into the conversation and after a short time we all were face-to-face. Jerry didn't recognize me at first and so my wife said to him: "Hey, Jerry, I really dug your speech." And, he in turn went into his little song-and-dance routine that signified that he was about to pick up a chick. So he said something like: "Yea, wow. Why don't we go to bed?" And she said:

(Please turn to page 28)

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Phillip Abbott Luce discussing 20th century tyranny at Arizona State University

tracted him. He was reading a lot of Marxist literature but, as he later wrote, "while I was drawn to Marxism as an intellectual concept, I was really emotionally involved in a general rebellion." In this Luce echoed many of his fellow "leftists." He described his generation of college students as widely diverse, but united in a general "feeling of frustration with American society .... all are rebelling against some facet of the complexity, the indifference, and what they feel to be the neurotic ways of American life."

At the time, the liberal media reported this rebelliousness as a broad repudiation of America's political and social institutions and traditional way of life. But, as Luce viewed what was happening from the inside, for most of those involved, the rebellion was not directed against the clear ideas on which our nation was founded and which guided its first century and a half. On the contrary, what a lot of "the kids" were fed up with was the smug vacuity known as liberalism that had largely replaced our founding ideas in post-war America: an intellectually empty, conformist materialism hypocritically posing as history's greatest flowering of both reason and moral sensibility. As Bill Buckley summed it up: "Liberals often talk about hearing other points of view, but are usually surprised to find there *are* other points of view."

"Heaven forbid," Luce wrote in *The New Left,* "that a young person may decide to take a position other than the prevailing middle-of-the-road liberalism, whether on fluoridation or on foreign aid .... In this country, when one voices strong political viewpoints, he is automatically labeled a zealot, a Communist, or a McCarthyite. The era of the 1960s is the era of the nullification of politics." It was an era of intellectual confusion and timidity in which "most parents pose as liberals, but often act like social conservatives and feel it's better to remain quiet than to involve yourself." The "kids"' reaction was often to take this empty "ism" to its logical, absurd conclusion, as if to say: OK, you want vacuity, we'll show you the real thing. "Pot, *Kama Sutra* sex, bennies, and bra-less females," Luce wrote, "also are expressions of alienation from traditional society." And also, there was Communism, seeming to offer an outlet that, in stark contrast to liberalism, possessed a clear moral purpose and a firm assurance about its actions and objectives.

After receiving his Master's degree, Luce began to participate in the activities of the Communist Party, which he considered "the only organization of any radical significance around." Soon, however, he found he had fled one set of stultifying conformities for an-

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other. In the fall of 1961, he moved to New York and attempted to go to work on a moribund Communist Party monthly literary magazine called *Mainstream.* He joined other young writers there in an effort to infuse new ideas and youthful energy into the publication. The group set up a meeting to discuss their plans with American Communist Party head Gus Hall in Hall's top-floor office at Party headquarters in New York.

"Hall's office had the warmth of a barren, unheated attic," Luce recalled. "Empty bookcases lined the walls, and except for a conglomeration of mixed chairs and a desk, the only ornamentation was a blackboard. This blackboard was utilized by the 'comrades' whenever they wanted to mention someone's name without its being recorded by the FBI .... A personification of paranoia! Such blackboards, I later discovered, adorn all of the cubbyhole offices at the CPUSA. Hall's appearance was as stark as the physical layout. As he leaned back in his chair, his feet on the desk, he constantly fingered a clothespin and certainly resembled Captain Queeg a lot more than Lenin." Hall, of course, vetoed any notion of new ideas or youthful exuberance for *Mainstream.*

But Luce moved on to become editor of *Rights,* the house organ of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a group founded in 1951 by "old radicals" Corliss Lamont, I.F. Stone, and others. Clark Foreman, its director, Luce wrote, was "always too independent to join the CPUSA." Luce thought Foreman was "probably the only 'old' radical who understood and sympathized with the frustration and impatience of the young radicals." Luce credited his own "need for independence, which Clark helped instill in me" with leading him later to break with Communism.

In 1963, Luce led 58 fellow radicals on his first illegal trip to Cuba. When he returned, he was indicted and subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. "We literally swaggered into the hearing room," Luce wrote, "determined to give the Committee a bad time. When asked my name, I sarcastically replied, 'Phillip Abbott Luce, as in Henry and Clare Boothe.'" A fine joke, effectively conveying the contempt he felt for an established order he had not yet made any serious effort to understand. "I joined Progressive Labor," Luce wrote, "because I had a vision of the future and a hatred for the present." The "vision," apparently, consisted of little more than vindicating and appeasing the hatred. "I felt that perhaps a united Communist venture could oust the present government. I overlooked all that I knew of the history of the Communist movement, the purges, etc., and held to a belief that Progressive Labor was really interested in individual freedom and the betterment of the people."

He finally looked honestly at Communism when the "vision" moved outside his imagination and began shaping the real world he and his fellow radicals inhabited. In 1964, his Communist superiors asked him to "go underground," to become a fugitive, and to help incite violence. Luce refused, and looked back later at that step as his first toward a formal exit from Communism. He wrote that he refused partly out of concern for his friends in the movement. He recalled one in particular, whom he called "Frank," who was never "familiar with the theories of Marxism-Leninism," who had "joined the Communist set because his friends were members, because it gave him a somewhat self-fulfilling role, and because it was the 'cool' thing to do .... During the time I knew him, he was lied to, used, and constantly put upon, because he was considered a valuable tool. His youth may well allow him to 'grow out' of the movement. One of the people for whom I left PL was Frank; I could not take the responsibility for inciting illegal acts which might involve him without his knowledge and for which he would certainly suffer." Luce also, unlike many leftists, never felt alienated from his parents. After his break, he wrote that he had tried unsuccessfully "through the years" to keep his "political radicalization" from touching them, knowing they would be hurt by it. "The only thing I would ever try to redo in my political past would be to spare them, if that were possible, the blight of having had me as a 'Communist son.'"

After leaving and denouncing the left, Phillip Luce was subject to the routine torrent of abuse from former friends and colleagues. "Borrowing a chapter from the Nazis," he wrote, "they believe that the more often a lie is repeated, the more people are prone to accept it as truth. Nothing is too scandalous for them, and I am constantly amazed at the fact that at one time I was a close associate of people capable of such deceitful behavior." But he also knew he had been one of them in this regard, admitting that he had systematically deceived himself in overlooking "all that I knew of the history of the Communist movement, the purges, etc. ...."

Luce's escape from communism led him to Young Americans for Freedom, the organization Bill Buckley had founded with other members of the burgeoning

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FREE TROJAN September 21, 1970

(Continued from page 25)

"No, but I did like that part about private property being pure shit." And Jerry got into it and said: "Yea, well property is shit and after the revolution we will divide everything up. Like there won't be anything private. My shirt will be your shirt and my car will be your car. And it will be like one big commune."

And everybody standing around could dig on that because it sounded pretty far out — and the boys always dig the idea of sharing the girls — so Barbra went on "That's a fantastic Indian head band you have on Jerry."

Retort: "Yea. It was given to me by a friend."

Barbra: "Why don't you give it to me?"

Jerry: "Huh?"

Barbra: "You said that private property was shit so why won't you give me your head band?"

Well, Jooly Jerry looked like he had just dropped ten million micrograms of LSD and blurted out: "But it's my head band."

Yes, Jerry it is your head band. And my head band is my head band and that is called private property.

Jerry would like to be an anarchist but he doesn't have the education. Jerry would like to be a revolutionary but the revolutionaries have moved on. Jerry would love to be an idol of the media but has reached the point of over-kill when he sees a camera. All we can hope is that someday, in some way, Jerry will find a way to **Do It!** without further inflicting himself upon us.

post-World War II conservative movement in America. YAF was intended to provide a conservative alternative to Students for a Democratic Society — SDS, a group of leftist radicals about as devoted to democracy as were their heroes in North Vietnam. Luce became a special YAF field representative for organizing anti-New Left resistance on college campuses. He spoke at hundreds of them throughout the United States debating his former allies. He appeared frequently on radio and television, published five books, and wrote many widely-read articles exposing the left. One of Luce's friends recently recalled the time: "His debates with radical leaders like Tom Hayden and Jerry Rubin were legendary. He pulled no punches. He was flamboyant, usually dressed in denim, smoking cigars. He brought crowds to their feet. His writing style was dynamic. His first-hand accounts of real communism could not be countered by the radical leaders of the day. He knew who they were, he knew their tactics. He was fierce, unyielding and determined in his battle to crush their socialist propaganda."

But, for all that, in many ways Luce remained a man traveling alone. No major figure joined him from the left, which remained dominant on campus until the end of the Vietnam War. His long hair, Viking-style mustache, and counterculture clothing set him apart, to put it mildly, from other YAF speakers. A friend who came to know him well in the 1970s described Luce as more poet than political activist. I vividly recall a 1967 trip with Phil to the Whisky on Sunset Strip where he introduced me to the "Doors." Luce's Bohemian soul, as much after Communism as before it, defined his personality. His political activity came as a by-product of it. Although he was a darling of YAF's conservative activists, he always remained something of an outsider.

After the war, campus political organizing became more difficult, and both YAF's and the left's influence and activity waned. Luce continued to develop anti-Communist programs outside the United States, but he was largely forgotten. When he died, only a short notice was circulated among his former friends. His death certificate lists his "usual occupation" as "Political Aide" and his "kind of business" as "U.S. Government." Along with the rest of us, Phil had the great good fortune to live to see the fall of the Soviet's Evil Empire.

In *The New Left*, Luce noted the cost of breaking with the left by quoting the words of another ex-communist, Hede Massing: "You have lost your first set of friends when you leave the fold. Then, when your battle of conscience has been fought and won, and you go out into the open, you have lost your second set of friends. Now you are alone." Luce commented: "You are alone, but not isolated." He devoted himself from that point on to drawing together the forces of resistance to Communism to defend the country that he finally, through a long, painful ordeal, had come to know and love.

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McKinney

(Continued from page 14)

group for normalization with Castro.

Fidel Castro has said repeatedly that Elian Gonzalez *must* be returned to Cuba as a pre-condition to any further discussions of relations with the United States. Thus, the parties who want normalized relations (with no concessions from Castro) almost certainly want to return Elian Gonzalez to Cuba.

Castro, through his subordinates, has threatened to stage a reprise of the 1980 Mariel Boatlift if Elian isn't returned. During the boatlift, thousands of prisoners were released and shipped to the United States. The Cubans languished in various locations, including Ft. Chafee in Arkansas, where Mr. Clinton was then governor. Mr. Clinton was defeated in his 1980 bid for re-election, at least partly due to a riot at Ft. Chafee by the Cuban criminals. A Mariel reprise would do severe damage to Mr. Clinton's "legacy."

Do we know what Mr. Gonzalez truly wants?

Is Greg Craig truly representing Juan Miguel Gonzalez in an effective, ethical manner or is he actually acting to advance the interests of other parties where those interests are adverse to those Mr. Gonzalez may have? We know Mr. Gonzalez placed several closely-spaced, collect, cell-phone calls to his Miami relatives (their Sprint phone records have been made available). The Miami relatives have stated in sworn court documents that Juan Miguel Gonzalez alerted them his son was coming across the Straits of Florida and asked them to take care of his son in the same manner the Miami Gonzalez clan had taken care of other Gonzalezes who had fled Cuba. Juan Miguel Gonzalez currently says he was shocked to learn that his son had escaped Cuba, even though many others in his village have told journalists they were aware of Elian Gonzalez's mother's plan from the start. The most likely scenario is that Juan Miguel Gonzalez originally intended to have his son leave Cuba for America, hoping to follow him later.

Mr. Craig has been circumspect and evasive in answering questions on whether he had advised Juan Miguel Gonzalez on seeking asylum for himself and the rest of his family in the United States during the few moments when Juan Miguel was not on property claimed to have diplomatic privilege by Cuba.

Under the D.C. Bar's Conflict of Interest rules, it is self-evident that Mr. Craig's long and close association with parties intensely interested in normalizing relations with Cuba (the Clintons, the Democrat Party, the Carnegie Endowment, the Arca Foundation) should cause his self-recusal from representing any Cuban citizen who clearly could have an interest in escaping Cuba, when such an escape would result in tantrums by Fidel Castro, a possible reprise of the Mariel Boatlift, and further delay in achieving the left's goal of normalization. Mr. Craig's "own financial, business, property, or personal matters" are directly involved, especially since we know he is being paid from a fund [the "Humanitarian Advocacy Fund" of the United Methodist Church] that gathers donations from — the conclusion is inescapable — the same organizations and individuals determined to see normalization of relations with Cuba. [Despite allowing its name to be associated with the fund paying Mr. Craig, the UMC denies giving it any support, saying "no UMC apportioned monies have been promised to Mr. Craig."]

I urge the D.C. Bar to undertake a fair, impartial, and thorough review of Mr. Craig's multiple violations of the D.C. Bar's Rules of Professional Conduct.

Sincerely,
Leon McKinney
St. Louis

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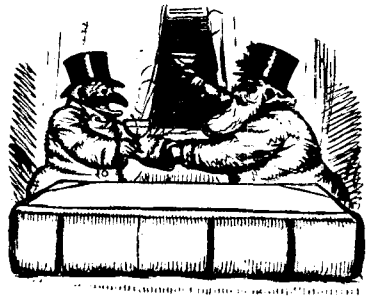

CRITICUS

Sirius Matters

BY G.B. TENNYSON

The kingly brilliance of Sirius pierced the eye with a steely glitter.

— Thomas Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd*

IT'S THAT again, time for the annual summer roundup of follies and fatuities from the past twelvemonth that Criticus likes to fix his eye upon with its own steely glitter when the Dog Days are long and overwarm. Here's a baker's half-dozen of them likely to call forth from Constant and other Readers the wan smile or even the furrowed frown.

IMAGINE

The lyrics to the John Lennon song "Imagine" were last year voted the favorite song lyrics by thousands of British who phoned the BBC or voted on its website. One supposes that such a vote is not scientific in that only those who cared enough to participate did so and one cannot know how many did so more than once. But much the same can be said of elections throughout the world, including those in the United States, and these decide matters of greater moment than the popularity of song lyrics. Or do they? This particular vote was taken to commemorate National Poetry Day in Britain and stirred delight in the actor who announced the results, moving him to say, "It's the sort of lyric that people instantly recognize and know what it means and for that reason deserves to win." The egregious Yoko Ono reported that she was "choked" by the award; "it's so beautiful," she gushed.

Understandably all this enthusiasm moved Criticus to read the actual words of "Imagine," which had only ever dimly blipped across his musical radar screen. As readers probably already know, the lyrics are not only not beautiful, they are jejune, insipid, and even childishly heretical. The author invites us to "Imagine there's no heaven" and also no "hell below us / Above us only sky." We are to imagine that there are no countries, nothing to "kill or die for / And no religion too." With these evils gone all the people will live life in peace. Finally the reader-auditor is invited to join those who think this way and then someday "the world will be as one." The question is: can you imagine "Imagine" being recited for comfort by the proverbial soldier in the foxhole when the bullets are flying? Or by one lying wounded and gasping for water in battle on a far frontier? Read on.

A BETTER MAN THAN I

Another once popular, and vastly more artful, poem has come in for criticism by the racism indus-

G.B. Tennyson annually reports during the Dog Days in his various capacities as CPR's *European and Southern correspondent and resident vexillologist.*

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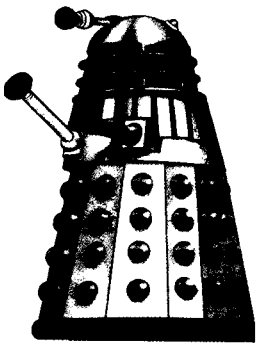
try, not for the sake of the poem alone (which they don't understand) but mainly for a recent application of it. It appears that someone at NASA must be a Kipling reader, which is in itself heartening, for NASA has designed a small robot to move about spacecraft performing menial tasks. So far, so safe. But NASA named the robot Gunga Din. Why? Well, as every schoolboy knows, Kipling's Gunga Din (pronounced "Dean") was a water carrier (a "bhisti") for the troops in India, and he was sorely overworked and constantly reviled by the soldiers, not least for his color. "You limpin' lump o' brick-dust," "you squidgy-nosed old idol," "you heathen," "you lazarushian-leather" (lazarushian is a coinage from a lazar, an outcast, and Russian leather for the color and texture of his skin) — these were ways in which he was addressed as they shouted out during combat for him to come with water:

It was "Din! Din! Din!"
With the bullets kickin' dust-spots
on the green.
When the cartridges ran out,
You could hear the front-files shout,
"Hi! ammunition-mules an' Gunga Din!"



The discovery that the NASA serving robot was named Gunga Din sent the National Assembly Against Racism in England into a rage.

BUT THE common soldier telling the tale makes clear from the start that Gunga Din was heroic. "Of all them blackfaced crew / The finest man I knew / Was our regimental bhisti, Gunga Din." Further, "An' for all 'is dirty 'ide / 'E was white, clear white inside." When the speaker is struck by a bullet it is Gunga Din who spies him first and rushes to him with water and then stanches the flow of blood and saves his life. As he does so, Gunga Din himself is shot and dies. The speaker knows he'll meet him later on in that place that John Lennon wants us to imagine doesn't exist: "'E'll be squattin' on the coals / Givin' drink to poor damned souls, / And I'll get a swig in hell from Gunga Din!" Yes, the soldier believes both he and Din will go to Hell. Even so, he has no doubt that Din is his moral superior:

Though I've belted you and flayed you,
By the livin' Gawd that made you,
You're a better man than I am, Gunga Din!

With the discovery that the NASA serving robot was named Gunga Din the National Assembly Against Racism in England went into a rage. "It is a racist and patronizing perception of Asians to make us feel inferior. It was not as if Gunga Din was a good service provider — he was a slave to an oppressive white man." Kipling has long been misunderstood by modern readers, denounced as imperialist and racist. But just as he undercuts the arrogance of imperialism in "Recessional," written to mark Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee ("Far-called, our navies melt away; / On dune and headland sinks the fire: / Lo, all our pomp of yesterday / Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!"), so in "Gunga Din" he shows that skin and station are no measure of moral worth.

One must hope that nobody at NASA hears of the complaint or the spacecraft robot will surely be renamed. And not for a better man.

ALLAH BE PRAISED

On a similar but also ludicrous note Criticus is compelled to report that Muslims are becoming as tiresomely petulant as all the other victim groups. Perhaps they see the handwriting on the wall that says that only those who perceive insults gain favor with the powerful. Whatever it is that is motivating them, they do seem to see one sort of writing just about everywhere. A year or so back Nike was obliged to withdraw thousands of pairs of basketball shoes because Muslims claimed that the logo on them which was intended by Nike to resemble flames actually resembled the word "Allah" in Arabic script. Sometime after that a new logo designed for middle-eastern distribution of the English brand Walls ice-cream provoked Arabic ire because the Muslims determined that the intertwined red and yellow hearts looked like the word "Allah" in Arabic script when viewed upside down. Not to be outdone, French Muslims have denounced the French police for having badges that, when tilted sideways reveal — you guessed it — the word "Allah" in Arabic script. Nike and Walls at considerable expense redesigned their offending logos. I do not know what the French police have done about their badges. Even more curious is how one comes to be able to tilt police badges sideways, unless perhaps in a frantic effort to pull away from *les flics* when collared, an experience that may be

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more common to France's largely North African Muslims than to other groups.

A LEAKY VESSEL

Another place where words and symbols are coming into conflict is in the new South Africa. Constant readers no doubt saw the serio-comic piece in the *Los Angeles Times* about the travails of the new national motto and coat of arms that the South African government has come up with after six years of deliberation. If not, here's the short version.

But the motto was crafted from an extinct South African click language called /Xam that had no written form but, as it was vanishing, was transcribed phonetically in the late nineteenth-century by a German linguist who used various forms of punctuation — the slash in the name of the language, for instance — to indicate different click sounds. From this, modern South Africans devised a motto intended to read "Unity through Diversity." This sounds to Criticus suspiciously like American academic slogans used to advance affirmative action, such as one popular at UCLA that read "Excellence through Diversity." How one gains either unity or excellence *through* diversity is impossible to determine; unity or excellence *despite* diversity is more like it, or to be charitable, perhaps Unity *and* Diversity, Excellence *and* Diversity. Moreover, it turns out that the people who spoke /Xam, the Khoisan, were xenophobic because outsiders were to them the same as the Four Horsemen, and moreover they had no philosophic concept to accommodate the ideas of unity and diversity. Furthermore, the slanted slash should be a vertical slash but was made slanted because modern keyboards rarely have a vertical slash. Likewise, the imitation of carved rock art on the coat of arms renders the figures sexless whereas in actual ancient South African rock art the figures are always male and always unmistakably, visibly so. In short the whole business is inauthentic and clearly the work of politically correct committees.

BUT THE best is yet to come. The word /Xam, or more properly |Xam, is pronounced exactly the same as a word in modern Khoisan dialects that means, in effect, to urinate, or even more colloquially, to take a leak. Many Khoisan and others think this is inelegant and liken it to America's having its national motto (still "In God We Trust," until the ACLU bans it) written in a language called Pee, or that other P-word. As Pliny said, "Always something new out of Africa." As Criticus says, no need to read Waugh's *Black Mischief* when we have so much reality to jollify us.

POLES APART

We know the French have been battling gamely but mostly unsuccessfully for years to stop the spread of English words into French. Recently they tried to insist that all air traffic into Charles de Gaulle airport be conducted in French despite the fact that English is the official international language for air traffic communications. The French have also come up with official French versions of computer terms to counter the proliferation of English computer language. The Germans have been more acquiescent in this regard, simply Germanizing English-language computer terms wherever possible. Admittedly, they have an advantage in that terms like "click on" and "mouse" move more easily into German, so that an instruction such as "Klicken Sie mit der Maus" sounds quite authentic.

NOW THE Poles have joined the language purity battle and are drafting legislation to require the use of Polish in all business activities. For some time Poles have jokingly called Johnnie Walker whisky "Jasio Wedrowniczek," which means "Wandering Johnnie." Now this sort of thing may become required, not only in business and legal transactions, which is understandable, but in the chauvinistic French-Canadian style in advertising as well. I admit that no one is more in favor of languages retaining their own identity than Criticus, but when language control falls into the hands of bureaucrats one must needs look with gimlet eye, for they always go too far. If the Polish plan were adopted in the United States, we could not advertise, say, a perfume as *"merveilleux,"* or *"bon"* without accompanying it with the English translation. For that matter, the bottle itself could no longer read *"parfum"* without an accompanying "perfume." Criticus has a bottle of scent that reads in its entirety "Eau de Fleurs de Cedrat — Eau de Toilette — Guerlain — Paris." Every word in French. Think of those deprived citizens who have no idea what *cedrat* is (it's the Persian citron). Here's another labeled simply "Armani — Eau Pour Homme." Without an English translation of *homme,* this could be, horrors, unwittingly bought by a woman and lead to a sexual harassment suit. Then there's "L'Egoïste — Chanel — Paris," which would have to come out as "Egoist — Chanel — Paris," which would seem to be supererogatory. But in the most likely scenario, the American experience would be even worse. The racism lobby would muddy the perfumed waters and everything else by requiring that labels be in *all* relevant languages. Products would then appear with attached brochures looking like the voting instructions

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we now receive in English, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Tagalog, Malay, Armenian, Arabic, Vietnamese, Nahuatl, Aztec, Inuit, and — well, why go on? Al Gore would vow to establish a Department of Translation to implement all this and promise to include "under-represented" languages. Whole careers would be dedicated to agonizing over how to render *eau de cologne.* The literalists would demand it be the ham-fisted "Water of Cologne," while the freer spirits would opt for "Cologne Water," and traditionalists would be reviled as part of the vast right-wing conspiracy for pointing out that the English for *eau de cologne* is eau de cologne.

In terms of science, all we can say at present is that we don't know *which* Jefferson was, so to speak, in the woodpile.

THINNING THE BLOOD

The Thomas Jefferson lineage battle continues, but as the certainties dwindle the coverage gets ever smaller and ever more relegated to the back pages. After the headlines timed to help President Clinnochio at impeachment time with the "everybody does it" defense and the television movie about Jefferson and his slave Sally Hemmings, it is now settled popular opinion that the third president fathered at least one child by Hemmings, who was his wife's half-sister and the mother of six. But this may well not be true. Criticus has no way of knowing for certain and evidently neither does anybody else. However, it is now acknowledged by all involved in the DNA testing that what it showed was that *a* Jefferson male fathered *one* Hemmings child, her youngest son, Eston. But the possible candidates are six in number, including several much younger (and probably more libidinous) than President Jefferson. Beyond this, science cannot at present go. Perhaps it will be able to be more precise in the future; perhaps not. The uncertainty was enough to make the Thomas Jefferson Foundation (a separate group from the similarly-named Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation that operates Monticello) refuse to acknowledge the descendants of Sally Hemmings as related to Jefferson at the annual Jefferson family reunion.

The Hemmings descendants are angered by this refusal. They counter with the long family oral tradition that Jefferson fathered several of Hemmings's children, including her eldest, Thomas Woodson. They see the anti-paternity faction as the Jeffersonian equivalent of Holocaust denial. Oral tradition is not necessarily wrong, but neither is it necessarily right. Without oral tradition we would not have Homer or *Beowulf,* though these were passed down by professional bards in cultures where virtually the only tradition was oral and where the bards were not claiming descent from Homer or the unknown author of *Beowulf.* By contrast the black Jefferson claimants would have understandable social reasons for wanting the claims of descent to be true. In terms of science, all we can say at present is that we don't know which Jefferson was, so to speak, in the woodpile. Criticus does note, however, that in his unscientific observation, Jefferson, like Washington, is a surname mainly borne by blacks. But does this prove anything?

Possibly presidents and other prominent figures simply give rise to such stories by virtue of their prominence. At this very moment there is a faction in Scotland that claims that Napoleon Bonaparte was descended from a Scot, though I've forgotten the details of the argument. And lately we got DNA proof that the boy Dauphin Louis XVII was indeed Louis the XVII and not a substitute. The Dauphin died aged ten in 1795, but countless claimants to be the Dauphin popped up all over for years afterwards claiming the death was faked and that the prince survived. DNA tests also evidently show that the bones of the last Romanovs do include those of Archduchess Anastasia. I did so want Anastasia to be the glamorous beauty played by Ingrid Bergman or even the now deceased eccentric old woman in Charlottesville. But at least we still have the film. There have been inconclusive tests on the alleged Clinton son by a black prostitute, reports of which regularly surface in the weekly tabloids.

THOSE TABLOIDS are the ones that Clinton heaped ridicule upon during his first campaign when they reported, accurately it later turned out, on the liaison with Gennifer Flowers. If only those tabloids could track down the truth of the rumors that William Jefferson Blythe was not in fact the son of Blythe (the timing is very dicey) but of an as yet unidentified, possibly even black, sire from Shreveport. This would give him even more in

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common with our third president and the literal right to the title bestowed on him by black activists — America's First Black President.

VEXING VEXILLUM

If Florence King can, twice in boring succession in her "Misanthrope's Corner" column in *National Review,* fulminate against those who favor (by the time this appears, probably "favored") keeping Elian in the United States, then Criticus can certainly return to *his* King Charles's head, namely the flag issue. As I foretold, should the Confederate flag be removed from the dome of the South Carolina statehouse in response to demands of modern-day Reconstructionists, then new demands would be made. And so it has turned out. South Carolina agreed to remove the flag from the dome, then resolved to place it, in a square rather than rectangular version, on the monument to the Confederate dead on the statehouse grounds. Whether this was guilefully or innocently done, it has turned out to be a sly move. The NAACP has predictably complained. Its leader Kweisi Mfume *[sic]* protested: "To take it from the top of the dome, where you had to strain to see it, and move it to a place where anyone coming down the main street will see it is an insult." He did not add, perhaps because he did not know, that the square version was the one most commonly used in battle, the one known as the Southern Cross and hence in many ways more militant than the rectangular one that "you had to strain to see" that was flying above the statehouse dome

Here, surely, is a case for the ACLU were it not run by leftwing loonies.

A PARTICULARLY FAMOUS one of those square battle flags is at the center of another controversy. It is the exact flag that was carried in Pickett's doomed charge up Cemetery Ridge in what became known as the high water mark of the Confederacy. As the first flag carrier, a sergeant, fell and died from being shot three times, he handed the flag to a private who was instantly shot. As he fell dying he handed the flag to a colonel who was instantly mortally wounded. The flag was grasped by a lieutenant and waved from a wall, only for the flagstaff itself to be hit and broken causing the flag to fall to the ground. The lieutenant seized the broken flag and lifted it aloft. But he was immediately shot and fell wounded. He was the last carrier of this particular flag. He was one John Abbott Independence Lee of Craig County Virginia (no relation to Robert E. but named Independence because of being born on July 4). He recovered in a Union prison and returned home after the War

Lee's flag now reposes in a secret location in the Minnesota Historical Society. Those it is being kept secret from are not, for a change, rabid anti-Southern agitators, but the state of Virginia and the descendants of the 28th Virginia Regiment in which John Lee was a lieutenant and of which ninety percent were killed in the charge. When Lee was wounded and the flag fell, it was seized by one Marshall Sherman of the 1st Minnesota Regiment for which he was awarded the Medal of Honor. He later lost a leg in the Battle of Petersburg but survived and died years later in St. Paul.

As required by the Union at the time, the flag was handed over to the War Department and reposed there until apparently loaned to Minnesota for various public commemorations, including the burial of Marshall Sherman in 1896. Somehow the flag ended up in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society. But as the descendants and members of a 28th Regiment re-enactment group point out, a War Department directive of 1905 decreed that all captured flags should be returned to their place of origin. That means that the flag should go back to the 28th Virginia or at least to Virginia where it had been made from English bunting and hand sewn by Confederate women. The braying governor of Minnesota has screamed defiance; the 28th Virginia has persisted and argued that it should be returned in the "moral and ethical spirit of harmony."

Here, surely, is a case for the ACLU were it not run by leftwing loonies. Send the flag home. Free the captured banner. Let it be encased in glass and displayed at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, where it would not be seen unwittingly from afar but only by those on pilgrimage. Let it be like the Tomb of St. Peter, Becket's Shrine, the Holy House of Loreto, Santiago de Compostela, the Shroud of Turin. The flag could be a symbol of reconciliation, harmony, and heritage.

Just Imagine!

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Unbridled Nofziger

BY PETER HANNAFORD

LYN NOFZIGER, *paterfamilias* to conservative grassroots activists, Western novel writer, adviser to presidents and candidates and lover of puns, has just come out with this volume of very funny poems and limericks. Some are appreciative; most skewer the pretentious and pompous of this world.

The author's *nom de plume* does not mean he has become a female impersonator. Far from it. His inspiration was the poem "Trees" by Joyce Kilmer. As he puts it in a foreward, "...the rhyme scheme — ab, ab, ab ad infinitum; and the meter — iambic two syllables-short-of-pentameter — was easy stuff to play with, so I kept writing the darn thing as the muse, Erato I believe, struck me."

He got to "Trees" — and the book — by way of a fund-raising plan by for the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. The idea was that donors would each "buy" a flowering crab apple tree, the grove to be planted on a slope of the library's hilltop site. The donation per tree: $10,000. "Joy Skilmer" writes, "It was a fine idea and I'm sure raised ... substantial sums for the library. But it was a little rich, not so much for my blood as for my checkbook .... Therefore, in lieu of purchasing a tree I wrote the initial poem. The others followed naturally as occasion arose and individuals inspired."

Peter Hannaford's latest book is The Essential George Washington: Two Hundred Years of Observations on the Man, the Myth, the Patriot, *1999, Images from the Past, cloth.*

Unbridled JOY

The Verse of Joy Skilmer

Lyn Nofziger

MND Publishing, Inc.,

2000, 112 pages,

$14, paper.

Here is a sample from that initial poem, "Trees II":

I think that I shall never see
A ten thousand dollar Reagan tree...

Poems are made by fools like me
Too poor to buy a Reagan tree.

Then there is "A Chinese Trie":

I think that I shall never see
A Chinese crook like Charlie Trie
A Trie who once brought bags of bills
To help with Bill's financial ills .....

The poet has taken Al Gore's measure, too. Consider:

Whoever thought Algore would learn
From Bill just how the truth to spurn
Or that he'd learn to tell great lies
That make Bill's look like humble pies...

"The Story of Algore," longer than most of the other poems, leads the reader hilariously through the long list of Gore's tall tales and fabrications. James Carville, the Clinton's White House's manic "attack dog" comes in for this analysis:

A bald Clinton pal named Carville
Declares, 'Starr makes me real ill
He's pickin' on Bill
And chasin' sweet Hil.
Get even? You bet we will.

ALTOGETHER NOFZIGER/SKILMER covers 95 people and topics. Here readers will find poems and limericks about Newt Gingrich, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Joe DiMaggio, Michael Jordan, Tiananmen Square, the Bushes — George and George W., Nixon's men, the New York senate race, Janet Reno, winter weather in Washington, D.C., Ted Kennedy, and many, many more.

Here is perfect summer reading for anyone interested in politics and in search of a good laugh.

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A Cure Worse than the Disease

BY M. LESTER O'SHEA

ONE THING you will never hear advocates of racial or other group preferences express is an interest in looking at the facts and calmly analyzing whether inequalities among groups are really due to discrimination. Nor are they troubled by the obvious randomness with which preferences operate, their automatic rewards and penalties based solely on membership. That is because radical egalitarianism is the religion of those in its grip, and its fundamental tenet is that inequality is the product of pervasive injustice. This is the essential element of their faith, and it is not subject to being rationally disproven. It is as Paul Johnson wrote of the liberal approach to crime: "It has been tested to destruction. It has failed everywhere, overwhelmingly and manifestly — except in one region: the minds of its advocates. For them liberalism is a religion, an article of faith, born of conviction and not susceptible to proof or disproof."

As columnist Dan Walters observed concerning California's constitutional amendment banning race and sex preferences, on the one side "those who pushed for ... the enactment of Proposition 209 ... have maintained a high tone. Even the most overtly political of the advocates, Gov. Pete Wilson, has cast the conflict as one between two versions of moral fairness." The advocates of preferences, however, "have used shameful words and acts," including denouncing their opponents as engaged in "ethnic cleansing."

An excerpt from

A Cure Worse Then The Disease

by M. Lester O'Shea

Hallberg Publishing Corp., Tampa, Florida, 2000, 267 pages, $24.95, cloth.

The intolerance and self-righteous zeal of ardent levellers is reminiscent of religious fanatics of old. The epithets they hurl are not "blasphemer," "heretic," or "enemy of God," but rather "racist," "sexist," and "bigot." "Hate," which seems equivalent to holding traditional religious view as to what constitutes moral and immoral conduct, is also very popular. When objections were raised to federal funding of obscene "art," the National Advisory Endowment for the Arts' advisory theatre panel, in 1990, passed a resolution denouncing critics as "zealots, bigots and homophobics."

To be sure, as Freud said, sometimes a cigar is just a cigar. It is certainly possible to be moved to take up a particular cause because of its perceived merits rather than as part of a general conviction as to the nastiness of American society. But in the case of multiple cultists, such as the man who lost his legs lying in front of a train protesting arms shipments to El Salvador and soon after recovering was featured at a rally against the cutting of redwood trees (and the tenth anniversary of whose amputation was marked with extensive and reverent coverage in the local press), or the San Francisco motorist whose bumper stickers included U.S. OUT OF EL SALVADOR, REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS FOR ALL WOMEN, HOMOPHOBIA IS A SOCIAL DISEASE, and ROBIN HOOD WAS RIGHT, it is a safe bet that general alienation is the problem.

Years ago, in his book *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy,* Joseph Schumpeter predicted that the prosperity which capitalism would create would, ironically, bring into being an influential and disaffected intellectual class that would bring about the system's destruction. At this point, it would seem that he underestimated the resiliency of our system. But he was certainly right as to the intellectuals' alienation, which has been so critical in selling the country on the need for laws against all sorts of discrimination as well as the appropriateness of open preferences.

M. Lester O'Shea has had successful careers in investment banking and real estate. He is author of Tampering With The Machinery: Roots of Economic and Political Malaise.

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The Committee For Religious Freedom

Defend Freedom of Conscience

If you believe that no government may legitimately tell us what to think about religion, morality, and politics; if you share our support for freedom of conscience, religious freedom, and free speech, then please use the form below to join us by adding your name as a signer to The Committee for Religious Freedom's Statement of Support for the three-judge panel decision in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission.*

This Committee, which needs everyone's support, includes nationally-known Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders: *First Things* Editor Rev. **Richard John Neuhaus**, nationally-known author Rabbi **Daniel Lapin**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Salt Lake City Most Rev. **George H. Niederauer,** *Life & Times* host **Hugh Hewitt**, Former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican **William A. Wilson**, and Pastor **Laurence White** of Houston's Our Savior Lutheran Church. Please read our full statement and list of signers at our web site (www.cppf.org) or in *CPR's* Nov./Dec. 1999 issue.

These Religious and Community leaders support the January ruling in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission* which upholds First Amendment religious freedom guarantees against lawsuits that would force landlords to choose between sacrificing their livelihood or renting against their religious convictions to unmarried couples. That ruling is now under review by an 11-judge panel of the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals.

"Landlords are accused of violating civil rights if they object on religious grounds to being forced to choose between renting to unmarried couples or going out of business," our statement reads. "But is it not *their* freedom of conscience and *our own* First Amendment Religious Freedom rights that are under attack?" If you agree that these rights should be defended, please sign and return this form today. Thank you.

I support the Statement of The Committee for Religious Freedom.

Optional: ___ Please keep me informed of the Committee's activities.

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